

Kinnock agenda for Budget reform

Labour plans to raise taxes on top earners

By PHILIP WEBSTER, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

LABOUR yesterday unveiled detailed plans for a fundamental reform of the tax system, including an attack on allowances for top earners. A Labour government would also introduce a new Budget process involving annual talks on pay with union leaders and employers.

Neil Kinnock confirmed his party's plans for tax rates to start below 20 per cent, rising to a top rate of 50 per cent, or 59 per cent including national insurance contributions.

At the same time, he appeared to take Labour even further from its unilateralist past, denying that the party was committed to getting rid of all Britain's nuclear weapons while other countries possessed them. His remarks brought a challenge from Chris Patten, the Conservative chairman, to state whether Labour was still seeking the elimination of all nuclear weapons, as its policy documents have stated.

Labour's 20,000-word preliminary election manifesto gives no more details than before on the precise tax bands between the lower and top

rates and the number of people who will pay them, although Mr Kinnock asserted that for the "huge majority" there would be no tax increases. No individual earning less than £20,000 would be worse off.

However, a Labour chancellor would "scrutinise all tax reliefs" and ensure that relief on pension contributions, like those on mortgages, would be restricted to standard rate tax. Married couples would be permitted to split their £1,720 allowance between them. But a new limit on allowances, setting a "minimum tax" level for those on top incomes would prevent the rich from reducing their bills to below those of ordinary people.

The party would also introduce a new charge, equal to the 9 per cent employees' national insurance contribution, on unearned income. The first £3,000 - which would require savings of some £30,000 - would be exempt. The charge would be levied on top of tax, but pensioners would not have to pay it.

The document goes on to outline Labour's plans for a national economic assessment in which the government would sit down with "trade unions, employers and others". The assessment would be taken into account when the Budget was framed and when public spending decisions were made. Both processes would take place in the spring.

Mr Kinnock appeared to make a significant refinement of his party's nuclear defence policy at a London press conference when he said: "We have at no stage made a commitment to getting rid of all nuclear weapons for as long as others have them."

Mr Kinnock and the shadow foreign secretary, Gerald Kaufman, sought to preempt the Conservative charge that Labour's policy remained unilateralist because it would leave the country without nuclear weapons while potential aggressors retain them. As recently as last month, Tom King, the defence secretary, said Labour's defence changes had been cosmetic because they would mean that Britain

would have no nuclear weapons while other countries, perhaps a "latter day Saddam Hussein", had them.

Mr Kaufman said that the Conservatives had developed a new line - that a Labour government as part of its commitment to negotiate over Trident was committed to getting rid of British nuclear weapons while others held them. "That is a total and deliberate lie," he said. There was no commitment for a Labour government to divest Britain of nuclear weapons while others retained them.

Labour broke with unilateralism in its 1989 policy document which committed the party to putting Britain's nuclear weapons into the Start 2 disarmament negotiations. But it made plain that the aim was to eliminate the nuclear capability.

Mr Patten said last night that the new document made plain that Labour's 1989 paper was still party policy. He challenged Mr Kinnock to say that he would keep nuclear weapons as long as other countries had them.

John Major said the Labour party was out of date. "They have found a nice glossy new paint, but that is all it is. When you strip away the gloss of their policies, they are, in essence, the same capitalist policies that were tried in the Fifties and Sixties and failed."



Looking ahead: Neil Kinnock launching Labour's policy document in London yesterday, taking the party further from its unilateralist past

Fears of second Chernobyl explosion

Five years after the world's worst nuclear disaster the reactor shield is badly holed, Nick Nustall reports

Almost five years after the Soviet nuclear disaster at Chernobyl, fears are emerging that a second accident could occur at any time. Soviet scientists have evidence that the sarcophagus of concrete and steel, thrown up around the reactor in three months after the explosion, may be crumbling.

In the pit beneath the sarcophagus are huge swaths of radioactive dust: plutonium, strontium, uranium and caesium. The dust is still and calm at the moment. But the exterior of the sarcophagus is riddled with an estimated 1,000 square metres of holes, so big that birds fly in and out.

Part of the sarcophagus is held up by lift shafts and the roof of the old reactor hall. If it fails, tons of metal and debris could go crashing into the pit, and the dust could escape. Such a discharge would be on a far smaller scale than the original explosion on April 26, 1986. But it could directly expose about a thousand workers at Chernobyl to potentially lethal doses of radiation and pollute the surrounding area.

British troops may be sent to northern Iraq

By ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR, AND MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

A RECONVENED war cabinet last night examined the prospect of sending British troops into Iraqi Kurdistan to protect aid workers and to defend the safe havens which John Major is seeking to establish for Kurdish refugees.

Just before the meeting began at 5.45pm, the prime minister, who is seeking to put flesh on his safe haven proposal, spoke on the phone to President Bush. He broke off during the cabinet meeting for a further conversation with Javier Pérez de Cuellar, the UN secretary-general.

Both conversations centred on the practicalities of setting up the safe havens and how to defend them. With news last night from the White House that American troops were to be sent into Iraq to help with humanitarian efforts, British ministers, who took no decision last night, were clearly beginning to accept the likelihood of having to deploy British troops as well.

Mr Major also confirmed yesterday that legal experts are continuing to examine whether President Saddam Hussein could be charged with genocide. But Mr Major believes that little can be achieved at the UN on that score, and that it would anyway do nothing to contribute towards the objective of bringing the Kurds down from the freezing mountains.

Officially, the use of force has not been ruled out or ruled in. But in the Commons yesterday, Mr Major told MPs: "I have made it clear to our colleagues in the United Nations and elsewhere that if the relief effort is hampered or frustrated, in my judgment, under resolution 688 it is clearly the responsibility of the United Nations to protect both the helpers and the helped. If necessary the United Nations would have to act on that responsibility and seek whatever assistance, including military assistance, it may need from its members."

The White House announcement said that American troops were to be dispatched into northern Iraq to assist the massive relief effort for the displaced Kurds. But the troops would be there for strictly humanitarian reasons and would not become involved in Iraq's civil war, said Martin Fitzwater, President Bush's press secretary.

The British ministers accept that getting the Kurds into camps in safe havens within Iraq has to take into account their protection, which issue is likely to require denying Baghdad access to part of its own territory. One suggestion is to place a barrier of UN civilians, during Saddam to bring the wrath of the world community and provoke

retaliation if he attacks them. But officials concede that a military presence may be required at some stage, although they emphasise that it would be a defensive "buffer" rather than reprisal attacks.

Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, supported by Paddy Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat leader, yesterday urged reference to genocide of the Kurds to the United Nations Security Council as a "matter of urgency". Mr Kinnock said that the Iraqi leader had a case to answer under Articles 2 and 3 of the Genocide Convention of 1948. Mr Major confirmed that he had taken legal advice on the matter.

When Mr Ashdown said that UN resolution 688 provided for the use of air power to protect the Kurds, Mr Major said that the only comprehensive plan was the one he had proposed for safe havens.

Sir David Lean dies aged 83

By SIMON TAIT, ARTS CORRESPONDENT

SIR David Lean, the master entertainer who perfected the cinema epic, died in London yesterday. He was 83.

Sir Richard Attenborough, who was directed by Lean in his first film, led the tributes last night. He was "one of the gods", he said. David Puttnam, the producer, called him the "quintessential post-war British film maker. Films such as *Lawrence of Arabia* are those which my generation of film makers continually aspire to make."

Lean, maker of *Brief Encounter* and such as blockbusters as *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, *Dr Zhivago* and *A Passage to India*, had had a pet project: the screen version of Joseph Conrad's *Nostromo*. He was working on it in France when he was taken ill in January and flown to London for treatment. He never recovered. He leaves his widow Sandra.

GOOD WRITING IN THE TIMES

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Vladimir McKelvie asks if increased executive demand for leisure means the day of the workaholic is over (or at least shorter) Page 14

POLITICS
Mary Ann Sieghart says that John Major's past is a legitimate public concern: he should be less shy about it Page 16

HUMOUR
Craig Brown's enigmatic blend of Tory factions within factions, lightens our darkness: is there No Turning Back? Page 16

INSIDE

Tebbit accuses
As the prime minister yesterday rejected allegations that he once infringed electoral rules, Norman Tebbit claimed that some Tory MPs wanted the Conservatives to lose the next election Page 2

Wales talks
In an interview with *The Times*, President Lech Walesa of Poland modifies his recent criticism of Britain before his state visit to London next week Page 10

Car plea
The heads of Britain's four main car makers, Ford, Rover, Vauxhall and Peugeot-Talbot, will tell the Chancellor that his Budget will cost the industry almost £1 billion in lost sales this year Page 23

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Cabinet 'agrees on property tax'

By ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR

THE cabinet committee charged with finding a replacement for the poll tax yesterday agreed on the proposals to be outlined in a consultation document next week. Ministers agreed on "preferred options" for the balance between the people and property elements of the replacement local tax amid some refinement of previous plans.

In spite of continuing reservations among some Conservative right wingers about a property tax becoming a tax on Tory voters, the prime minister is understood to be confident of wholehearted acceptance by the full cabinet of a plan which effectively abolishes the poll tax principle of everyone contributing towards the cost of local services.

In an effort to counter

Labour attempts to present the result of the review as "son of poll tax" ministers are believed to have agreed on a property tax based essentially on two-person households with a discount for single householders. Labour called for the government to announce its plans immediately after cabinet ratification tomorrow. Bryan Gould, Opposition spokesman, said that ministers would otherwise be running away from the issue.

● The Liberal Democrats yesterday produced their plan for a local income tax as an alternative to the community charge, saying that an average addition of 3.3 per cent to the standard rate would raise an equivalent amount to the poll tax.

Local tax, page 7

60-mile tailbacks as refugees flock to Iran

FROM EDWARD GORMAN ON THE IRAN/IRAQ BORDER

WITH what is seen here as an extremely modest Western relief effort for up to 1.5 million Kurdish refugees in Iran slowly getting off the ground, aid officials say hundreds of people are still dying and the worst is not over.

The picture on the border remains chaotic and difficult to assess, with probably hundreds of thousands of refugees still stranded without shelter or still trying to get into Iran at clogged border crossings.

There is increasing criticism

of the Iranian authorities, who appear to be slowing down the influx with laborious checks, particularly on refugees in cars. Tailbacks sometimes stretch more than 60 miles.

Jean Claude Fages, director of a 30-strong French medical team based at the Piranshahr crossing, estimated there could be as many as 200,000 people still waiting to get through there. He said delays at the border were having a disastrous knock-on effect.

Continued on page 22, col 6

Souness makes the family his new goal



By KERRY GILL

LIFE and death? Football, Bill Shankly said, was more important than that. But Graeme Souness, Liverpool's newly appointed manager, is a man of his time. He is moving from Glasgow Rangers, he said yesterday, to be closer to those he loved: "My family comes first."

In a terse statement, Souness said he was also leaving Ibrox stadium because he had gone as far as he would be allowed in achieving success for Rangers. His arrival in Scotland five years ago had contributed to family problems that culminated in the separation from his wife Danielle two years later.

It was well-known that Mrs Souness, heiress to a Liverpool millionaire, had no wish to live in Scotland and was tired of her husband's obsession with football. Souness was always a devoted father and, as his family spent much of their

time in Majorca, he travelled back and forth to see his two sons and daughter during the football season.

His decision to leave Ibrox will take immediate effect and last night thousands of Rangers' supporters were counting the possible cost. With the Premier league match against Aberdeen less than a month away, there were few people who were prepared to wish Souness well.

Most supporters were bitter that he had announced his decision to quit the club at a time when it could cost the club the Premier title. One youth said: "The 'Gers are just two points in front of Aberdeen, if chucking it now isn't bad timing what is? Good riddance."

Almost as the news of Souness's imminent departure for Liverpool was announced in Glasgow, supporters set off by car, bus and foot for their beloved stadium. Many blamed the Scottish

Football Association, with whom Souness often found himself at loggerheads, for hounding the man who has revolutionised Scottish football in the past five years out of the country. Others blamed his move on greed and ambition.

Not since Souness signed Maurice Johnston, a Catholic, for Rangers have the club's supporters awoken to such news. The first radio reports of the breaking of the club's sectarian policy were breathless, the tabloids ransacked the lexicon of soccer excess, and one newspaper called it a "world exclusive".

The perceived marital troubles of the Prince and Princess of Wales were quickly relegated to second place. In Glasgow, as in Liverpool, football is truly more important than life and death.

More time with family, page 14
Anfield reigns, page 42

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Archbishop answers critics and defends the broad church



Dr Carey: hurt by some of the recent criticism

THE Archbishop of Canterbury yesterday answered critics of his views on women's ordination and of his evangelism. Dr George Carey emerged as a man who is aiming for diversity and unity in the Church of England. He appeared shocked by some of the accusations of recent weeks and was amazed by fears that his primacy would herald great change in the church. Some of the criticism has hurt him and his family.

Dr Carey, who is 55, said he wished to explore the possibility of alternative episcopal jurisdiction for clergy who could not accept women's ordination and clarified

his statement in a recent interview that it was "a most serious heresy" to oppose the ordination of women, a declaration he later amended to "theological error".

He said: "My views on the ordination of women were known before I became archbishop. Even if someone had been appointed archbishop who was against the ordination of women, he would still alienate 60-70 per cent of the church. If you want a wishy-washy archbishop who's going to be just a flag blowing in the wind, then it's not me and it's not any other bishop I know."

He said the word heresy could be

In an interview at Lambeth Palace, Dr George Carey makes clear to Ruth Gledhill his position on the controversial issues which have dogged the early weeks of his primacy.

used in two ways: "The word actually means deviation in the weaker sense. In the stronger sense it is something sinful, a person who's stepped over a line. I mean it in the weaker form of the word."

He said that to stress the maleness of Christ as important for Christian ministry had serious

consequences for salvation. "We must be very careful that we do not de-church all the women in our pews who will feel that Christ died for them and that his humanity is inclusive." Single-issue problems should not dominate the agenda: "I am much more concerned with promoting a vigorous Christianity

in our land, and to ensure that Christianity is a vital ingredient in the culture and traditions of our country."

He urged opponents of women's ordination to stay within the church if the measure is passed when it comes before the general synod next year. "The idea of alternative jurisdiction is a very interesting option. I would certainly like to explore it." He wished to devise space for the people who could not accept the headship of a woman. He responded to allegations that his entourage service in Canterbury on Friday would involve radical departures from

tradition. The "happy clappy" image was a distortion, he said. "We are going to have a very traditional entourage service. I hear one organiser thought it [the music] would be associated with drugs and unbridled sex. He obviously doesn't know much about drugs or unbridled sex." Dr Carey's entourage address is likely to stress the importance of diversity and affirming different traditions.

He said he would not describe himself as an evangelist. "I am not a happy clappy person. I believe in the richness of the Christian tradition. I am not a fundamentalist."

Hussey to continue as BBC chairman

By MELINDA WHITSTOCK
MEDIA CORRESPONDENT

JOHN Major, the prime minister, expressed a strong vote of confidence in the BBC management yesterday, announcing the reappointment of Marmaduke Hussey as chairman of the BBC board of governors for another five years. It is the first time in the corporation's history that a chairman has been appointed to a second consecutive full term.

A BBC spokesman said there was some "surprise" at the length of his second term, but added that it was sensible to maintain stability in the lead-up to the renewal of the royal charter in 1996. Lord Joel Barnett, the BBC vice-chairman and former Labour minister, has also been reappointed, for two years.

Mr Hussey, whose appointment by Margaret Thatcher at the height of right-wing attacks against the Corporation in November 1986 prompted an outcry from Labour, will now steer the BBC through a lively debate about how it can be made more efficient while preserving and strengthening its role as a high-quality public-service broadcaster.

The decision by the Privy Council, which makes the appointment on the advice of the prime minister, is sure to disappoint Dr David Owen, the former SDP leader who had been lobbying senior Tories, including the home secretary, Kenneth Baker, to choose him for the position. @ IPC Magazines yesterday urged Kenneth Baker, the home secretary, to stop the BBC from using its television airtime to advertise its own publications.

Media, page 13

Major rejects TV claim that he infringed electoral rules

By RICHARD FORD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE prime minister yesterday rejected allegations that he infringed electoral rules in the election that launched his political career.

Sources close to John Major dismissed the BBC TV *Panorama* programme that investigated his background and rise to the top as "trivia" in which a number of minor points were not absolutely correct.

As ministerial colleagues rallied round, Norman Tebbit claimed that a small group of Tories wanted the government to lose the next general election and regroup around policies of "greater strength and attraction as they did after the defeat of the disastrous Heath government in 1974".

Writing in last night's *Evening Standard*, Mr Tebbit, a close ally of Margaret Thatcher, claimed that the government's biggest problem was the tiny but pessimistic group who saw victory at the next election as a poisoned chalice for either the Conservatives or Labour.

Senior Tory MPs urged colleagues to stop discussing Mr Major's performance publicly. Sir Robert McCrindle, Tory MP for Brentwood and Ongar, said it was time for a "self-denying ordinance" on the question of the leadership. "The more we have people saying that we should stop all this sniping, the more attractive it will become for people to go on doing it."

In the Commons, Mr Major dismissed *Panorama*'s claim

that he was technically not eligible to stand for the Farnham ward in Lambeth in 1968 because he was living in Westminster. He claimed that the woman who occupied the house where Mr Major was then listed on the electoral register was adamant that he did not live there.

During prime minister's questions, Mr Major said: "The qualification for standing for Lambeth council was to be resident within the area and *Panorama* were told on more than one occasion by the lady whose address they gave, that I was in fact living in the area, directly opposite her at the time, and that fully meets the qualification." He added: "I cannot explain why *Panorama* chose not to broadcast that fact."

Later Mr Major gave Radio 1 listeners a vision of the type of society he wishes to see in Britain, an idea of his musical tastes and the drawbacks to his job.

Mr Major said: "When I have talked of a classless society or opportunity society, I mean it just does not matter whether you come from a tiny scruffy back-to-back in a pretty poor housing area or whether you come from one of the best mansions in one of the best parts of the United Kingdom. We should have a society that opens up the same opportunities that you can achieve for yourself whatever your own particular abilities, aptitudes, hard work and talents enable you to achieve."

The prime minister requested a record called "Little Joe the Wrangler" by one of his favourites, Marty Robbins, a 1950s American country and western singer. The prime minister said he enjoyed musicals, in particular West End shows such as *Les Miserables*, *Phantom of the Opera* and *Miss Saigon*.

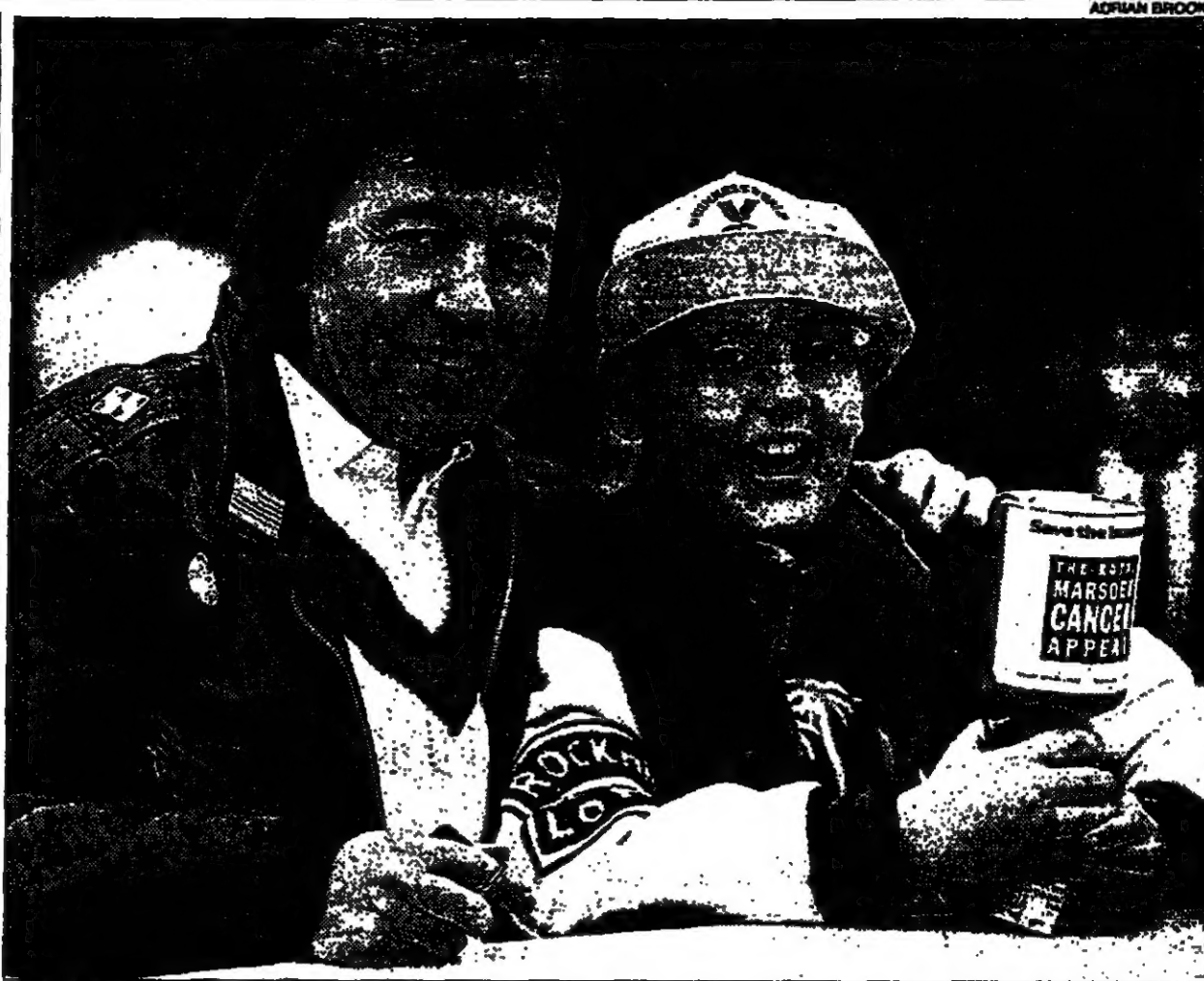
Regretting that he could not play a musical instrument, Mr Major said he found music a source of relaxation. Although his wife is a keen fan of opera, Mr Major said he was fond of light music.

One of the disadvantages of being prime minister was the loss of privacy. "I'm a great window shopper. I love browsing in old bookshops, or even large stores with modern books. I like going out to do my own shopping, but I can't do those sort of things now because it is a distraction for everybody else. I do miss that."

The prime minister listed his political heroes: Gladstone, "a giant", Lloyd George, "a genius", Churchill and Ian Mackintosh.

Mr Major said that when historians looked back on the 1980s, Margaret Thatcher would rank very high. He said "the glory in her crown" would be the way she had transformed how people felt about Britain and its place in the world.

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Good start: Bill Wyman, the Rolling Stone, with Craig Shergold, an cancer patient aged 11, who received 33 million good will cards. Wyman gave him £10,000 at the start of a cards roadshow raising money for the Royal Marsden hospital

Liverpool strike hits services

By RONALD FAUX

COUNCIL services in Liverpool came to a halt yesterday as 25,000 local authority workers began a three-day strike in protest at compulsory job losses. The council wants to make 1,000 of its 29,000 workforce redundant to produce a balanced budget.

Vital services were disrupted and only home helps and staff at old people's homes were exempted from the action. Children's homes were among the worst hit and an appeal was made for child care workers to look after unattended children.

The unions plan that selective groups will stay out on strike from Friday onwards to cause the maximum disruption to services in the hope that the council will change its policy of imposing redundancies.

Bi-lingual train drivers sought for Paris run

By MICHAEL DYNES, TRANSPORT CORRESPONDENT

BRITISH Rail is preparing to recruit its first batch of bi-lingual train drivers for international high speed rail services through the Channel tunnel to Paris and Brussels.

The drivers, who will receive the highest train driver salaries offered by British Rail, must be fluent in English and French, and pass stringent aptitude tests before being trained to drive the new fleet of transmanche supertrains.

The bi-lingual recruitment programme was unveiled as British Rail outlined details of the £1.4 billion being spent to upgrade existing lines in Kent so that international services can begin when the tunnel opens in 1993. As British Rail is simply increasing the frequency of trains on existing tracks, no money is being spent on residential noise protection. The introduction

of £30 million of continuous welded track along most of the route will, however, mean the end of the traditional clackety-clack of passing trains. The upgrading work entails the virtual re-building of the old London, Chatham and Dover line, and the South Eastern Railway, which were built inexpensively in the middle of the last century to meet a growing demand for cross-Channel services.

Although the new generation of high speed trains will travel at 186 mph in France, they will be restricted to 100 mph between Folkestone and Bromley, and 60 mph between Bromley and London because of existing speed limits, which will remain in force. Almost 100 bridges are being rebuilt to provide clearance for passing trains at a cost of £30 million, while another £85

million is being spent on re-signalling and junction improvements. The work is being done at weekends to keep disruption of domestic services to a minimum.

When complete, the 80-minute journey from London to Folkestone will be reduced to 70 minutes. If the proposed Channel tunnel high-speed rail link is completed in 1998, the time will fall to 40 minutes, making journey times between London and Paris two and a half hours, and between London and Brussels two hours 10 minutes.

British Rail is expected to decide on the route for the rail link by the end of the month. The decision will be submitted to Malcolm Rifkind, the transport secretary, with a request to make the route public before parliament's summer recess.

Lamont's lawyers tour flat

Lawyers representing Norman Lamont, the Chancellor, yesterday toured the small basement flat at his London home which a newspaper has alleged is being used for sex sessions. They spent 20 minutes at the £500,000 Georgian house in Kensington Park Road, Notting Hill, before leaving without making any comment. They are understood to be checking the terms of the lease to try to get the tenant to leave.

Shortly before their visit, Sara Dale, a therapist, who is renting the house with her friend David Misen, aged 50, describes herself as a "whole person's healing therapist". She denies *News of the World* allegations that she uses the basement room for £90-an-hour sex-therapy sessions and is refusing to move out.

Ms Dale, aged 40, who shares the house with her boy friend David Misen, aged 50, describes herself as a "whole person's healing therapist". She denies *News of the World* allegations that she uses the basement room for £90-an-hour sex-therapy sessions and is refusing to move out.

Appeal fails

The Court of Appeal ruled yesterday that Kathryn George-Harries, a trainee solicitor aged 28 who was jailed for six months for wrecking the home of her 75-year-old lover, must stay in prison. George-Harries, of Llangedmor, Dyfed, had caused £18,000 of damage after discovering her lover with a rival. The court refused to alter the sentence because of the seriousness of the offence.

Child stabbed

A girl aged 11 was stabbed to death yesterday afternoon at the Frenchgate shopping centre in Doncaster, South Yorkshire. She was taken to Doncaster Royal Infirmary suffering from stab wounds to her chest. An emergency operation was carried out but she died later. A woman aged 24 has been arrested in connection with the incident.

Condom review

The Irish cabinet agreed yesterday to make condoms more widely available and to lower the minimum legal age for buying them from 18 to 17. Rory O'Hanlon, the health minister, also proposed wider distribution through chemists, health centres and hospitals. Legislation to lower the legal age and approving the wider distribution of condoms will be put to parliament within the next week.

Protest grows

More parents kept their children away from Greenfield infants' school at Almondsbury, Huddersfield, yesterday in protest at the attendance of Daniel Robinson, aged seven, a carrier of the hepatitis B virus. Jennifer Devlin, chief education officer of Kirklees council, said she was concerned that parents were keeping children away when reassurances had been given that children were not at risk.

Cleared of rape

A husband who allegedly had sex with his estranged wife "for old times' sake" was yesterday cleared of rape. Judge Hopkin directed the jury at Nottingham crown court to find him not guilty, saying it would be dangerous to convict without independent evidence. The man, from Beeston, Nottingham, denied rape but admitted assaulting his wife, causing actual bodily harm, and was fined £100.

CORRECTION

The dates of the Brighton International Festival were given incorrectly in last Saturday's Review. The festival runs from May 3 to May 26. Telephone 0273 674692 Fax 0273 696067

South West Times: Brighton International Festival runs from May 3 to May 26. Telephone 0273 674692 Fax 0273 696067

Saunders 'suffers from depression'

By PAUL WILKINSON

FORMER Guinness chairman Ernest Saunders is suffering from a depressive illness, his counsel told the Court of Appeal yesterday. It could affect the five-year jail sentence imposed for his role in the Guinness Affair, his barrister, Anthony Parnes, said.

Saunders had been examined at Ford open prison by doctors, including a neurologist appointed by the Crown, and was found to have a condition similar to the anxiety and stress-related symptoms he suffered during his original trial.

Saunders, Gerald Ronson, the head of the Heron International Group and the stockbroker, Anthony Parnes, are

all appealing against their convictions and sentences imposed at Southwark crown court last August for their part in an illegal share-support operation during Guinness's £2.7 billion takeover battle for control of the drinks group Distillers.

Saunders was found guilty of being prime minister was the loss of privacy. "I'm a great window shopper. I love browsing in old bookshops, or even large stores with modern books. I like going out to do my own shopping, but I can't do those sort of things now because it is a distraction for everybody else. I do miss that."

The prime minister listed his political heroes: Gladstone, "a giant", Lloyd George, "a genius", Churchill and Ian Mackintosh.

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Unions continue to lose members

By LOUISE HIDALGO

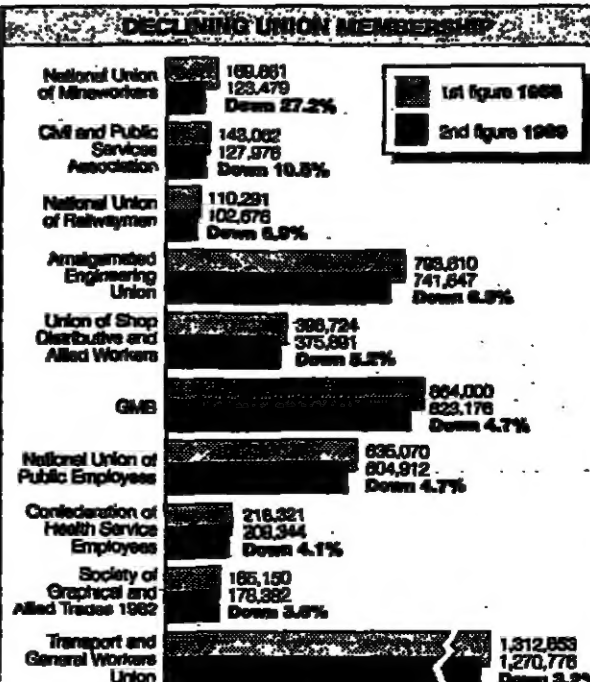
TRADE union membership is continuing to fall, according to independent figures for 1989 published yesterday by the Certification Officer for Trade Unions and Employers' Association.

The 1990 annual report shows a decline in membership of almost 344,000 for 1989, a drop of more than 3 per cent over the previous year. The biggest fall, reflecting the downturn in manufacturing industry, affected the Amalgamated Engineering union which lost 52,000 members bringing its membership to 742,000.

Several unions increased membership. The Union of

Construction Allied Trades and Technicians rose 3 per cent to 257,342 while the National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers, and the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association also gained members.

The certification officer, who is responsible for supervising unions' political funds, membership figures and accounts, also reported that the gross income of trade unions rose from £522.6 million in 1988 to £539.4 million in 1989. Income from members increased from £429 million to £442 million, reflecting higher subscription rates.



Naafi profits dry up as Desert Rats fight war

By MICHAEL EVANS
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

THE Naafi is heading for its first trading loss since it was founded 70 years ago, largely due to the alcohol ban among the Desert Rats during the Gulf war and the decision by the wives of servicemen, fighting the Iraqis, to buy not a single television set, washing machine or tumble drier during the conflict.

The dispatch of 40,000 men and women with the 1st Armoured Division removed 66 per cent of Naafi's customers from Germany "at a stroke", and while profits of £300,000 were made in the Gulf from the huge sale of soft drinks and

cigarettes, £6 million was lost in Germany during the same period.

Yesterday James Rucker, managing director of Naafi, said that the home leisure side of the business collapsed. Wives without their husbands did not buy anything new for the house. They also seemed to live more frugally. "Instead of buying steaks, the families made do with baked beans and other less exotic foods," he said.

The result is that when the Naafi's books are completed at the end of this month, there is expected to be a trading loss of about £500,000.

Sixty-one Naafi volunteers, in the uniform of the Expeditionary Force Institutes (EFI), went to the Gulf to

supply the troops with everything from toothpaste and suntan oil to Christmas puddings. Naafi abroad tend to boost their profits with the sale of alcohol. But this was banned in both Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

The Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes, the services' own trading organisation which runs welfare clubs as well as shops around the world, is now having to shed 150 jobs to meet the financial difficulties. The unions involved are angry because the management has also announced that their pay rise is to be limited to 3 per cent this year, although Mr Rucker hopes to be able to offer extra money in October if finances have improved with the return of the

Desert Rats to Germany. He said: "We certainly cannot go to the defence ministry and ask for money. Naafi is not about to close down. We will just have to change our style."

Mr Rucker plans to meet the unprecedented financial challenge by changing the Naafi's traditional image, although only in Britain. Instead of having Naafi shops offering everything to the services, he intends to introduce "convenience shops" which, like the ordinary corner shop, will focus on day-to-day requirements such as bread and cigarettes. He is also negotiating with the defence ministry to let ex-servicemen buy at Naafi shops.

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Remove only as Mackay

Child is kept foster decision

Museum end historic digs

Forest acco

1520-1530

Remove children only as last resort, Mackay tells courts

By FRANCES GIBB, LEGAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT

COURTS and social workers were warned by the Lord Chancellor yesterday that children should be taken into care under the new emergency protection orders only as a last resort.

In a reference to the Orkneys cases, Lord Mackay of Clashfern told a conference in London that the interim period before a final order was made had been found to be damaging to the children. He said an order to place a child in care could be granted only if the child "is suffering or likely to suffer significant harm because of a lack of reasonable parental care or because he is beyond parental control. The

harm which the child suffers must be significant.

"Minor shortcomings affecting health or development should not give rise to compulsory interventions unless they become significant by their sheer number."

Lord Mackay, addressing a conference of child-care and social workers and probation officers organised by the Children Act in London Implementation Group, said that there needed to be partnership between parents and local authorities and between the various agencies in health, housing and education and the social services. The local authority, when applying for a

care or supervision order, would have to submit a plan which the court considered coherent.

Lord Mackay emphasised the importance under the Children Act 1989 of the social workers who represented the interests of the child. As guardians, they must advise the court on the child's level of understanding and wishes and on the options available to the court. Some guardian panels were well placed to meet the increased demands imposed on them by the act, but for others radical change would be needed if they were to discharge their responsibilities satisfactorily, he said.

● The new "youth courts" proposed in the criminal justice bill are a retrograde step and will mean courts dealing with children's crime are split off from those dealing with their welfare, the Family Courts Consortium says.

In a briefing paper to the peers who are examining the bill, the group says that many young people who commit offences would be better dealt with by the new family proceedings courts being set up under the Children Act. It is proposing an amendment which would enable the transfer of cases from the proposed youth courts, which will replace the present juvenile courts.

● The parents of nine Orkney children released after five weeks in care said yesterday they were not surprised that an appeal had been lodged against a sheriff's judgment that procedures by the local children's panel had been fundamentally flawed (Kerry Gill writes).

In the appeal, lawyers for Gordon Sloan, interim reporter to the panel, are calling for a stated case, which means that Sheriff David Kellie has to produce his reasons in writing within 14 days.

A mother of two of the children said that the parents had expected an appeal. "Gordon Sloan had to, to save his face, but obviously we don't think the children will be taken away again. We are to see our counsel and we have total faith in them."

The Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children welcomed the appeal and said that it would enable the full evidence to be heard. Some of the society's staff were criticised for their questioning of the children.

Child is key to foster decisions

FOSTERING decisions must be made exclusively in the interests of the child, according to new government guidelines. The guidance, which will be sent to local authorities, says that it would be wrong arbitrarily to exclude any particular groups from consideration.

The latest guidance revises draft guidelines published for consultation last year which said that equal rights and gay rights had no place in fostering. However, the new rules

add: "The chosen way of life of some adults may mean that they would not be able to provide a suitable environment for the care and nurture of a child."

Virginia Bottomley, the health minister, said: "Never should consideration about the best available option for a child be secondary to ideological preoccupations. No-one has a right to be a foster parent." Mrs Bottomley said that in many cases placement with a family of similar ethnic origin and religion was "most likely" to meet a child's needs as fully as possible and safeguard its welfare. She added, however, that in some circumstances placement with a family of different ethnic origin might be the best choice for a particular child.

The advice comes after a Court of Appeal case in which James and Lynne Mellor, white foster parents, failed to win back the black child they had brought up since he was 24 days old. The couple, from Blackpool, had remortgaged their home and spent £8,000 in a legal battle to prevent the child, now aged two, being taken from them.

Outrage, a homosexual activist group, said that the government was leaving open a very wide, subjective door which could be used against lesbian and homosexual couples who wanted to adopt children. "Anyone who wants to stop them can use this open door to vent their own prejudices."

Museum may end historic City digs

By SIMON TAIT, ARTS CORRESPONDENT

THE Museum of London's archaeological service, which found the Rose Theatre, the Huguenot Villa Roman bath, the Guildhall smelterhouse and the Saxons city of Londinium in a five-year period of unprecedented discovery, may be scrapped by the museum's board tomorrow.

Max Hebditch, the museum's director, who set up the biggest archaeological operation in the country, is understood to be recommending the end of the museum's commitment to rescue-archaeology because of the recession, which has hit building development, a major source of sponsorship, and the museum's own financial difficulties. He is also recommending admission charges.

Instead of the museum's present archaeological service, there would be a small commercial unit to complete research and publication of past excavations and sell expertise and advice. It would carry out excavations if they fitted in with museum research policy and were externally funded.

Originally, it is understood, the plan was to scrap all archaeology immediately but this is believed to have been set aside because of legal obligations and the cost of redundancies. Last November more than 150 archaeologists were made redundant and the service now has about 180.

An all-party group of London MPs has written to the museum's board asking for both items to be removed from the meeting's agenda to allow full consultation, and museum staff want to present a paper making the same appeal. In a letter to today's *Times* a group of archaeologists ask for a decision on the archaeological service to be put off for consultations.

Letters, page 17



Dennis Lennon, the architect, who died yesterday aged 72, with the model of his Criterion development in Piccadilly. He was best known for his work on the Festival of Britain in 1951 and private and commercial development in London. Born in Chile, he was educated at Merchant Taylors School and the Bartlett School of Architecture. He began in private practice in 1950 and in 1963 he established his own partnership, Dennis Lennon and Partners, in central London. His commissions included 25 Janger shops, the Harrow school dining room and the Albany hotels in Birmingham and Glasgow.

Minister for capital proposed

By CHARLES KNEVITT

THE CHAIRMAN of the Arts Council last night called for the creation of a minister for London with his own department. There was a "crying need for some unified authority in the capital with power to act," Lord Palumbo of Walbrook said.

He also called for an audit of the "cultural fabric" of the nation, leading to an investment of £100 million a year in building conservation by the public and private sectors.

Lord Palumbo confirmed that he intends to demolish the listed buildings which he owns next to Mansion House in the City of London, to make way for the recently approved design by James Stirling, described by the Prince of Wales as a "wireless set". In a lecture on conservation at the Royal Fine Art Commission's headquarters in London, Lord Palumbo said the buildings on the site, including the Mappin and Webb building, were "brain-dead" and not worth preserving.

Forest access 'deleted from maps'

By PAUL WILKINSON

Public access to Britain's woodlands is being eroded, the Ramblers Association alleged yesterday. The Forestry Commission had sold hundreds of acres to private buyers who exclude walkers and details of commission land open to the public was being deleted from Ordnance Survey maps, the association said.

Within five years, no popular walking map would indicate land controlled by the commission, Alan Mettling, the association's director, said. He accused the commission of making a "secret" deal with the Ord-



Pen Wood maps: car park absent in latest version

nance Survey two years ago to remove all reference to its ownership.

"This was because the commission was selling many areas of its land under orders from ministers, this rendering some information on OS maps out of date," he said. "According to the OS, this led to disputes between

the words Forestry Commission no longer appeared.

In the Commons yesterday, Martin Redmond, Labour MP for Don Valley, tabled a bill seeking to protect public access after the commission sells off its land. He said that since the government came to power, 140,000 hectares had been sold and another 100,000 hectares were to be disposed off by the end of this decade.

He cited the case of Pen Wood in Somerset, which has changed hands several times since it was sold by the commission in 1984 to an insurance company. All public facilities were closed off, he said.



Open-air prayer: women Muslims sit behind a screen on Tooting Bec common, south London, yesterday while 5,000 men pray on the other side. The Muslims, from Balham mosque, were marking the end of the month-long festival of Ramadan when a fast is observed during daylight hours

Home alterations might lower value of property

By JOHN YOUNG

THOUSANDS of home owners are being persuaded by intensive advertising and salesmanship to make unsuitable alterations to their properties which not only deface them but may lower their market value.

John Fidler, head of architectural and survey services for English Heritage, said that last year owner occupiers spent £13,000 million on "home improvements". Half the nation had carried out work on their homes in the past ten years, and 15 per cent intended to do so in the next year, he told an English Heritage conference in London.

A recent survey had shown that a quarter of those undertaking or commissioning "improvements" said they would include the installation of double glazing as the number three priority after kitchen and bathroom alterations. Last year half a million doors were replaced. "This is great news for the replacement windows and doors industry, for double glazing companies and for DIY outlets, but a cause of concern for those of us in conservation," Mr Fidler said.

Sales of replacement windows and doors were worth more than £2,000 million a

year. In the past six years the number of suppliers had risen from 4,677 to 6,350. Several companies had reported doubling of sales every year since the early 1980s.

The conference marks the start of a campaign to protect Britain's heritage of traditional doors and windows and to prevent conservation areas from being disfigured. Without independent professional advice owners were responding to marketing pressures, Mr Fidler said. The judgments they applied in making decisions were based on their understandably limited layman's knowledge and experience, and on what manufacturers and salesmen chose to tell them.

More than half the respondents to a questionnaire believed that their existing windows and doors were old and rotten. However, evidence of ageing, patination and surface deterioration did not necessarily imply irreparable

decay, or warrant wholesale rejection and replacement.

Martin Bradshaw, director of the Civic Trust and vice-president of the Royal Town Planning Institute, said that doors and windows which might be perfectly suitable for a 1990s Barratt house were likely to be totally inappropriate for an 18th or 19th century building. Changes were often made as an expression of individuality and with the best of intentions, but often the result was to lower rather than raise the value of the property. Stained glass panels were discarded, leaded lights replaced with strips of glazing set in aluminium or plastic frames, and slates replaced by cement tiles.

Berry Joyce, of Derbyshire county council planning department, said that at least a quarter of the historic buildings in the county had been seriously damaged by unsympathetic alterations. It was time to revise planning laws.

Butterflies return to secret habitat

By BILL FROST

LEPIDOPTERISTS rejoiced yesterday at the news that a project to reintroduce one of England's most spectacular butterflies to its natural habitat had met with extraordinary success. After almost 11 years of near extinction, the Large Blue is back in the southwest at a secret location somewhere in Devon.

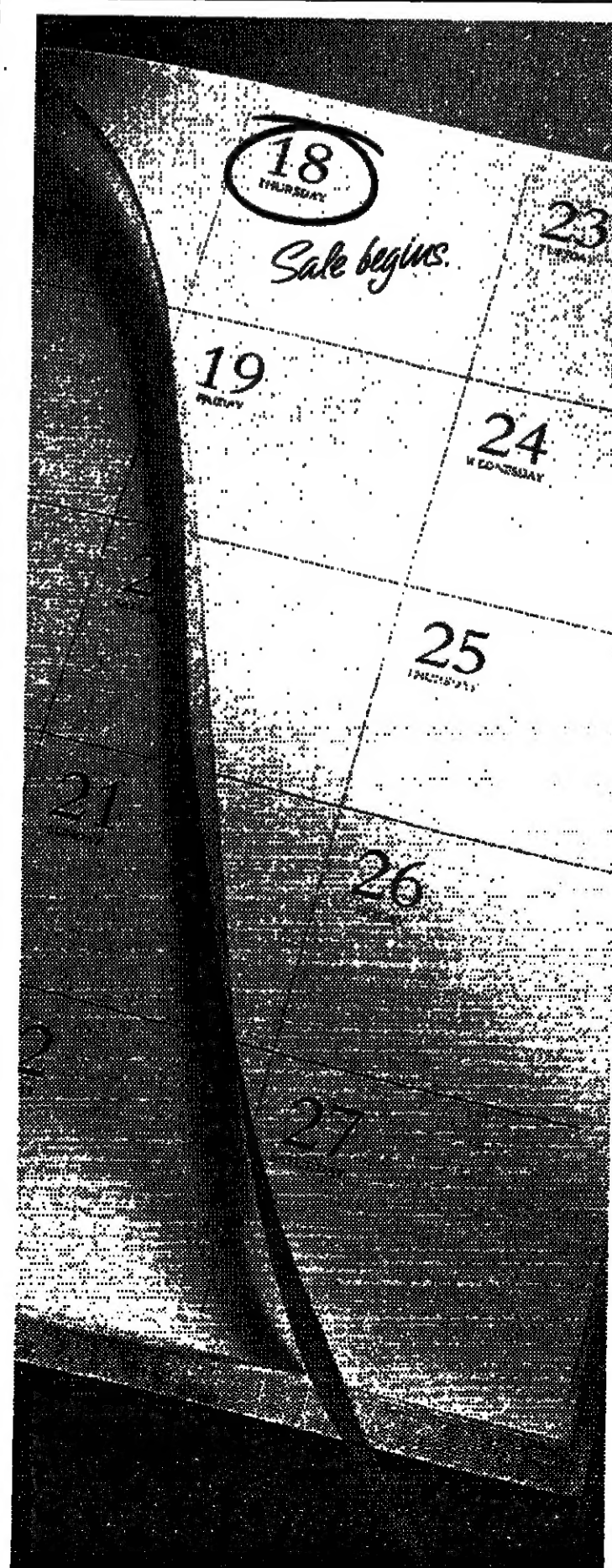
Maculinea arion, as the butterfly is more formally described, all but disappeared from fields and hedgerows between Land's End and Gloucester when farmers stopped grazing their livestock on scrub-land. To survive, the Large Blue depended on a delicate balance of conditions including short turf, the presence of wild thyme and the *Myrmica sabuleti*, a type of ant.

In 1983 the Nature Conservancy Council, now English Nature, established a breeding ground after importing 100 Large Blue eggs and ten female

butterflies from Sweden. Yesterday Dr Flemming Ulf-Hansen, assistant regional officer for English Nature, said the operation had borne fruit. "We will have about 40 adults by July. They could lay as many as 2,000 eggs. The Large Blue has returned to its natural habitat, the scrub-land of the West Country."

Dr Ulf-Hansen said that the butterfly laid its eggs on wild thyme plants, on which the larvae fed after hatching. The larvae drop to the ground and exude a secretion that makes them attractive to the rare ant, which only lives on grassy slopes with short turf and some scrub.

The ants pick up the larvae and carry them to the nest where they feed on eggs for ten months until the pupae form. Then the Large Blues hatch. The butterflies have a silvery blue colouring with black and white "coachstrips" at their wing tips.



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Primary schools are failing pupils say inspectors

By DAVID TYTLER, EDUCATION EDITOR

A FIFTH of primary schools fail to reach satisfactory educational standards because they are more concerned about looking after pupils than with lessons, the school inspectors said yesterday. In a critical report on Culloden primary school, in east London, the inspectors said their findings showed that many schools were failing their pupils.

Kenneth Clarke, the education secretary, had asked for the report on Culloden, which was featured in a BBC television series. He was concerned about the methods used to teach reading in a school where most pupils belonged to families in which English was a second language. The inspectors found that the school was failing to teach reading and basic skills in mathematics and science as required by the national curriculum.

Mr Clarke yesterday asked the school governors and Tower Hamlets, the education authority responsible for the school, to produce a report by the end of the summer term on the action the school and the governors planned to take to improve standards. In re-

sponse to the report, Jonathan Stokes, chairman of Tower Hamlets education committee, said that a test across London in October showed that in reading Culloden was ahead of the average for the capital. Denise Syndercomb Court, a parent governor, said that the report was politically motivated and an organised attempt to down-grade progressive education.

The inspectors said in their report: "Culloden's lack of planning and organisation of what is taught and its failure to evaluate what is learnt is typical of 20 per cent of schools where the standards are unsatisfactory."

The report said that in more than two-thirds of classes the standards of reading were poor. The school said, however, that the report did not take sufficient account of the national curriculum attainment targets nor of the requirements to assess the progress of pupils.

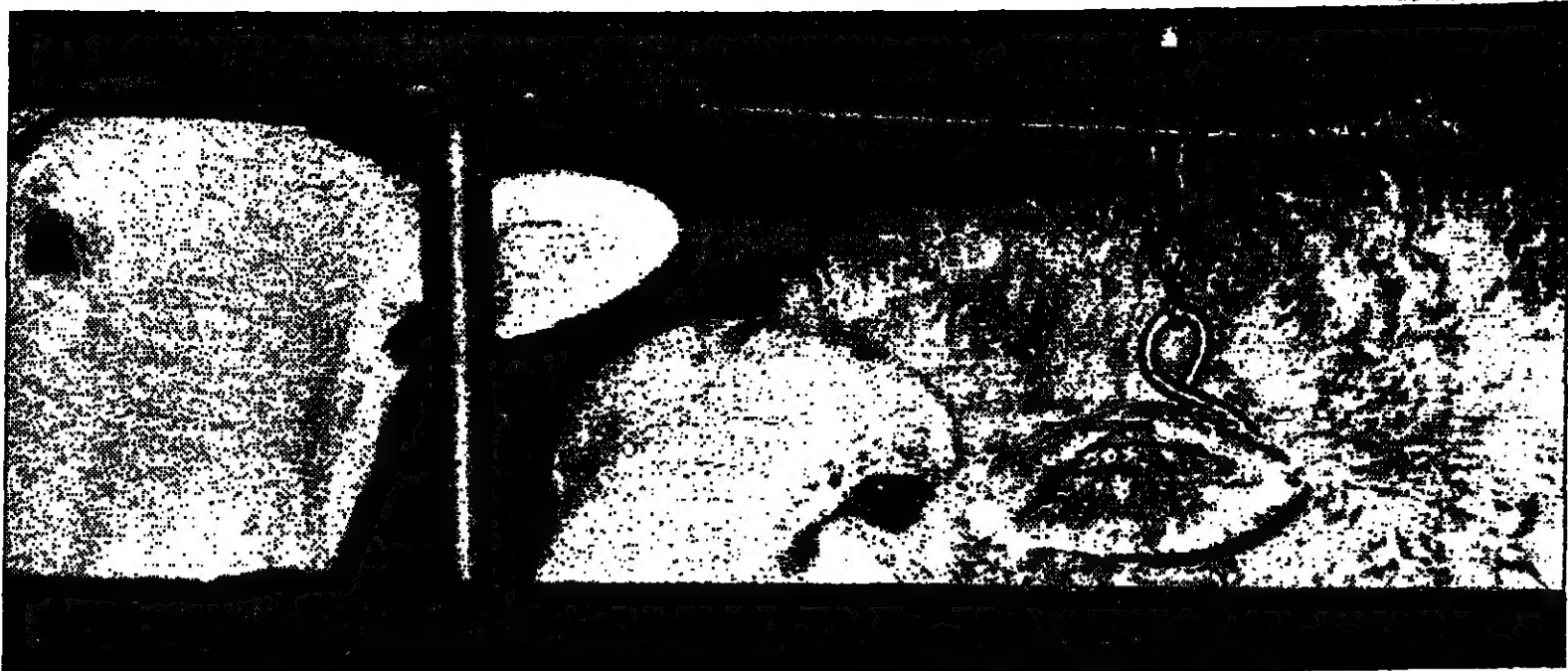
The school inspectors said: "This is a school which sets out to put caring for children at the top of its agenda. Consequently there is much

discussion about attitudes and codes of behaviour, the staff and the children are on first name terms and a lot of time is spent negotiating solutions to behavioural problems.

"There is little well-planned and structured teaching; the learning lacks rigour and pace; the reading standards in ten out of the 14 classes are poor and there are serious weaknesses in curriculum policies and planning with the consequence of high levels of under achievement."

Mr Clarke said: "These messages should be studied by all concerned with primary education. Of course inner city schools face very real difficulties. But there can be no excuse for anyone — teacher, parent, governor or local education authority — to accept lower educational standards in deprived areas."

"We cannot afford to tolerate the waste of talent which the second-rate education for inner city children often produces. Many primary schools are demonstrating what can be achieved by pupils from all backgrounds with a sensible approach to teaching."



One-way trip: some of the sheep aboard the transporter lorry taking them to a French abattoir

Sheep lorry shadowed

By MICHAEL HORNSBY, AGRICULTURE CORRESPONDENT

A CART drawn by a horse will deliver a petition signed by 1.5 million people to the European Council of Ministers in Strasbourg today calling for strict limits on the distances animals can be transported live for slaughter.

The signatures were collected by the RSPCA, which wants such journeys limited to a maximum of eight hours. Heather Pinchen, a reporter, accompanied Frank Milner, an RSPCA chief superintendent, as he trailed a consign-

ment of sheep from Dover to a French destination. She reported that the animals were watered and fed overnight in Dover before shipment to Calais, where they arrived at about midday. The four-deck lorry left the port at 5.44pm, stopping at a service station for directions at 10.08pm. The sheep were not checked.

After delay in Paris they reached the village of Mantes at 11pm. It took the driver 40 minutes to locate the abattoir and it was closed. Entry was

gained at 11.55pm and 267 sheep were unloaded. One sheep was dead, others lame. They crowded into an uncovered pen 12in deep in excrement. At 12.30am the animals were left to spend the night before slaughter.

There was no "quick fix" for the malaise of over-production afflicting farming in the European Community. John Gummer, the agriculture minister, told the Commons select committee on European legislation yesterday.

Police shortfall remains despite extra recruits

By STEWART TENDLER, CRIME CORRESPONDENT

POLICE forces in the provinces failed to increase the proportion of officers on patrol in spite of being given an extra 2,600 recruits and 3,100 civilians to free officers from desk jobs, according to a National Audit Office report.

After five years of extra police and civilian manpower the proportion patrolling in 1989 still stood at 55 per cent of manpower although 70-85 per cent of the extra police recruits allowed by the Home Office was set aside for increasing patrol duties. The report said the audit office was not able "to establish the reasons for this apparent 'leakage' between administrative and operational deployment".

The Home Office told the investigators that the classification of activities between operational and support work varied and comparisons over time might be misleading. Next month Sir Clive Whitmore, junior Home Office minister, and Sir John Woodcock, chief inspector of constabulary, will be questioned by the Commons public accounts committee about the report.

The audit office set out to discover how the Home Office decided what resources it gave to police authorities, what the department did to get value for money and how police performance was measured. The report found that the inspectorate, with eight inspectors and 35 staff and crucial to the government's drive for change in the police, faced an increasing workload. There is now no clear standard of what constitutes efficiency and no modern force has been considered inefficient or denied its grant.

The report called for an overhaul of the inspectorate and its resources. The Home Office collected a lot of material which took up valuable police time but the information was not used properly, the report said. The main information on police performance

New bomb attack on aero plant

A bomb exploded in a drawing office at Short Brothers' main aircraft plant in east Belfast yesterday, less than two weeks after the president of the firm's Canadian parent company held talks with a Sinn Féin representative in Montreal.

It was the sixth bombing within six years at Short's plants in Belfast. Two warnings were telephoned before yesterday's bombing, assumed to be the work of the IRA. Nobody was hurt.

Father's plea
Richard Ramsden, father of Josephine Ramsden, aged 21, a Down's syndrome sufferer who vanished from her home in Bridport, Dorset, a week ago, urged her abductor to return her. Police are keeping an open mind on whether she has been kidnapped.

Pole walk fails
Two Britons, David Hempleman Adams and Ray Shaw, abandoned an attempt to be the first to reach the north geomagnetic Pole without dogs or air drops and are flying back from Canada.

Awards for girls
Two convent schoolgirls who chased a shoplifter and pinned him down until police arrived were given awards totalling £250 at Norwich crown court.

Animal charges
The RSPCA served 19 summonses alleging animal abandonment against the owner of St Tudwal's East Island, Gwynedd, where all but three of a herd of 21 red deer and seven out of 11 sheep were found dead.



Sir John facing questions from MPs on the report

Ex-wife claims cash 22 years on

By FRANCIS GIBB, LEGAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT

THE Court of Appeal will today consider whether a woman who has been divorced for 22 years can claim a lump sum settlement from her former husband on the basis of his new-found prosperity.

The case, which casts doubt on the "clean break" principle, involves Alec Twinn, from Cumberland, now aged 75, whose wife Helen, now aged 69, brought divorce proceedings in 1967. She claimed a lump sum order and maintenance payments. The maintenance payments are still being made, but she did not pursue a lump sum settlement.

Mr Twinn, with his second wife, re-established his building company which had been bankrupt at the time of the divorce, and sold it for £6 million. On learning of her former husband's fortune Mrs Twinn

name in 1989 decided to pursue her application for a lump sum.

Mr Twinn's solicitors, Carmel Shepherd in Carlisle, applied for the application to be struck out on the ground that it was too late, but the district judge held that it could go ahead. On appeal, a county court judge agreed that the application ought to be struck out but said that he did not have the power to do so.

Michael Kewish, Mr Twinn's solicitor, said that Parliament legislated in 1984 to bring in the clean break principle in divorce settlements. However, the act said that if one part of a petition was not dealt with at the time, the petitioner could come back at a later date to test it. He said: "If this is right, it appears to make a mockery of the clean break principle."

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Labour manifesto pledges role for unions and employers in strategy to build world class economy

Kinnock puts faith in pay talks and tax reforms

By PHILIP WEBSTER, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

LABOUR'S plans for a national economic assessment involving unions and employers in annual talks to help pay bargaining are fleshed out in the party's policy document published yesterday.

A stronger commitment to eventual European economic and monetary union, further details of the planned overhaul of the tax system, and proposals for making Britain the best educated nation in Europe giving everyone equal access to education and training are the key developments of policy in *Labour's Better Way for the 1990s*, the 20,000-word successor to the 1989 and 1990 policy tomes.

Essentially a refinement of the previous documents, the new manifesto echoes and even underlines the caution of its predecessors about the spending commitments that a Labour government would undertake, recognising what Neil Kinnock called the "sombre realities" that would be awaiting it on taking office. There will, it says, be no irresponsible dash for growth, and investment must have a higher claim than tax cuts.

Its fresh ingredients are the policy stances agreed by the party during the past year, most notably the decision to replace the community charge with what it calls a fairer version of the rating system. The return of the water industry to the public sector is made a priority, with a "fair market price" promised for any equity or ownership rights that Labour acquires.

The core of Labour's programme is its proposals to build a "world class economy" and a strategy of investment and recovery to take Britain out of recession.

Specifically rejecting a statutory incomes policy, the document throws more light than before on the outlines of plans to involve the "social partners" in regular talks on the economy, a policy that many party figures agree would be vital to the success of a Labour government. No doubt anticipating Conservative taunts that a Kinnock government would take Britain back to "beer and sandwiches" at No 10 the document says such an assessment is a crucial means of "informing" collective bargaining.

The key change proposed by Labour is the dual announcement in the spring of the Budget and the government's public expenditure proposals, bringing spending and tax decisions together in a rational system of economic

government. The national economic assessment would bring together the government, employers, unions and others for discussions about economic prospects and the competing claims on the national output, including pay, investment, exports and public spending.

The assessment, which would come after a detailed statement by the government of economic prospects and policy options facing the nation, would "develop a broad understanding of what is feasible in the light of Britain's economic circumstances". It would be taken into account by a Labour chancellor as he framed his Budget and public expenditure decisions. It also promises to consider union leaders' proposals.

To maintain monetary discipline, Labour promises a "system of financial regulation and credit management" including restraints on bank lending - to help maintain a stable economic environment and give proper priority to industrial investment.

The document repeats the pledge for a series of tax bands ending in a top rate ceiling of 50 per cent. It speaks of "moving towards" a starting rate below 20 per cent. Although party leaders denied a weakening in the commitment, the last document did not refer to a progression to under 20 per cent but suggested a speedier move. It promises to put all tax reliefs under scrutiny "to ensure that

they all contribute to economic efficiency and are of equal value to all taxpayers" but specifically it says that tax relief on pension contributions will be restricted to the standard rate of tax. Labour would set a cash limit to the total relief a person could receive.

Unearned income of people below pension age would be subject to a charge equivalent to the 9 per cent employees' national insurance contributions, but it would not be applied to savings under about £30,000, or the £3,000 of income that that would represent. Unearned income above £3,000 would be subject to the charge, but pensioners will be exempt. Couples will be given the right to split the married couple's allowance which will be frozen at its present level. There will be a crackdown on

dodgers, in an attempt to raise up to £5 billion a year in uncollected taxes.

The document pledges to use green taxes to promote environmentally friendly behaviour. Value-added tax will be reduced on beneficial products and increased on harmful items such as heavy metal batteries and non-returnable drinks cartons.

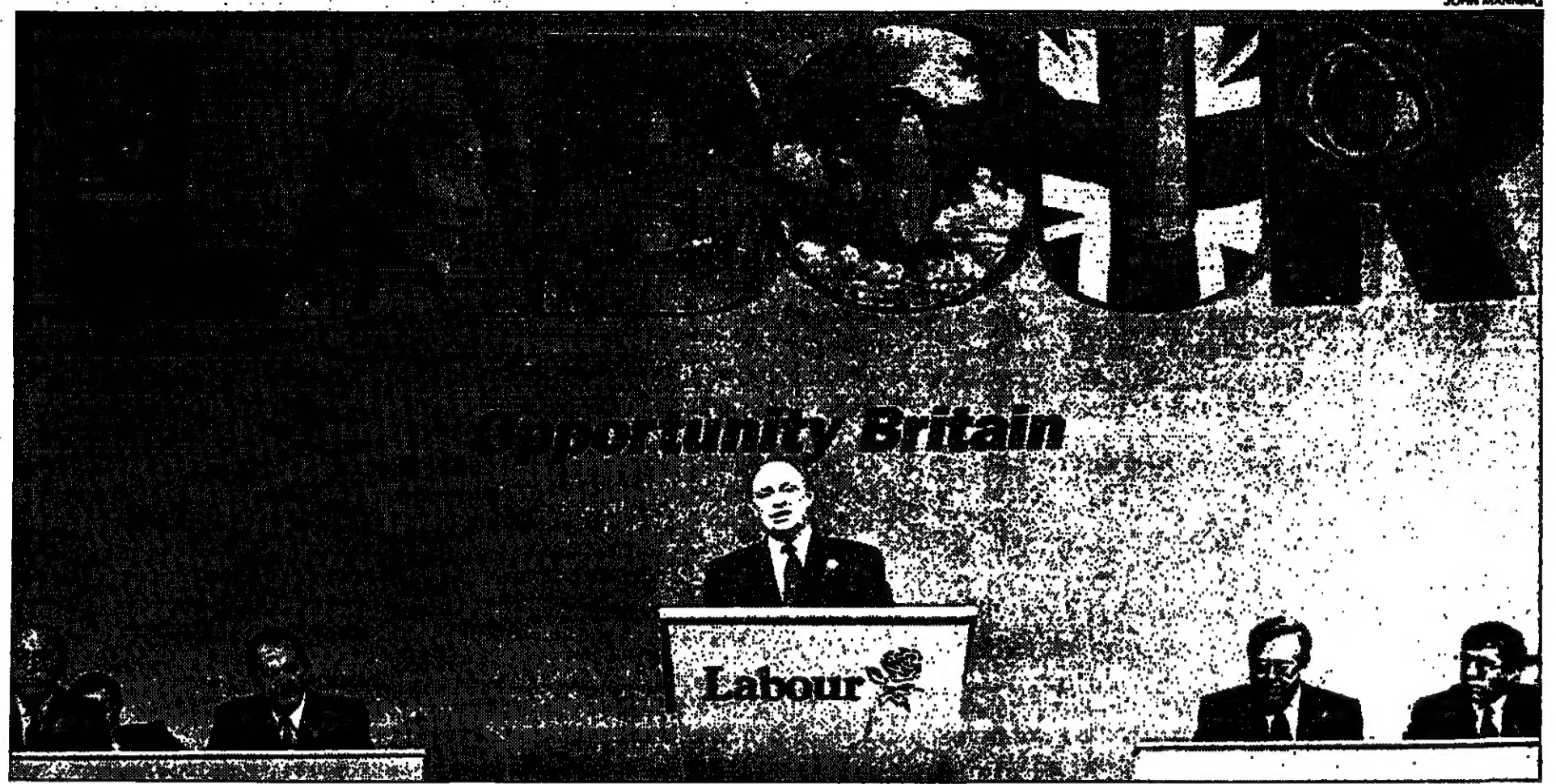
Although opposing a rigid timetable for monetary union, the document says: "Britain must not be left out of the movement towards economic and monetary union." It says that union could follow greater convergence between the different economies of the EC, to enable all countries to maintain steady rates of growth and employment without encountering long-term balance of payments problems. A key part of the

national economic assessment will be a national minimum wage, starting at 50 per cent of average earnings, or around £3.40 an hour in 1991-2. Over time Labour promises to increase the minimum wage to a point where no one is paid less than two thirds of the median male hourly rate.

Child benefit will be increased immediately by restoring its real value to what it was in April 1987. (A benefit of £9.55 for every child at current prices). There will be an immediate increase in the basic pension of £5 for a single person and £8 for a couple.

Mr Kinnock declared at the launch in London: "For the huge majority of the British people we will not be increasing taxes." He added: "Because of the changes we would make in national insurance contributions, no individual earning less than £20,000 a year will be worse off at all."

The foreign policy section of the document commits Labour to increasing overseas aid with the aim of meeting the United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product within five years. A separate department of state for development and co-operation would be set up. Stating that the authority of the UN, in the wake of the Gulf war, now stands as the firm foundation for a new world order, the document says it will be the prime aim of a newly-elected Labour government to work to strengthen the UN still further.



Party platform: Mr Kinnock launching the Labour document in London yesterday aimed at regaining power and spelling out its policy for the 1990s

Commentary: Steven Webb

Benefit for low paid will be less than predicted

THE Labour party's proposed "fundamental reform of the tax system" looks set to be fiercely redistributive, involving restricting the value of all personal tax allowances to a single rate, the abolition of the ceiling on employee national insurance contributions, and the application of the contributions to the unearned income of richer non-pensioners. It is however ironic that plans for taxation of those on lower incomes are not as helpful to the low paid as the framers of the policy seem to believe.

Labour proposes to introduce a lower starting rate of income tax, ultimately below 20 per cent in the belief that this is the best way of reducing the tax burden on low earners. However, the money spent on this reform could alternatively be used substantially to increase personal allowances.

A simple numerical example illustrates that to increase allowances would be of more benefit to poorer taxpayers. Consider a choice between an increase in the annual personal allowance of £100, or the introduction of a reduced rate of 20 per cent on the first £50 of taxable income - two options with the same overall revenue consequences. Under the al-

lowance increase, a taxpayer with taxable income of just £100 would save £25 a year in tax, as would any better off basic-rate taxpayer. In contrast, a reduced rate would save that same person just 5 per cent of £100 or £5 a year. Only when taxable incomes exceed £500 a year would the gain from the reduced rate outweigh that from an allowance increase.

In short, only those with enough income to cover the width of the reduced rate band will gain in full from such a change. This argument holds particularly strongly in a situation where, as Labour proposes, allowance increases are worth the same to all taxpayers and not more to higher rate taxpayers as at present.

A separate objection to a graduated rate structure (as opposed to a generalised allowance increase) is the administrative one that the taxation of unearned income such as building society interest becomes significantly more complex where individuals are paying a wide range of marginal tax rates.

A second principal element of the Labour package, the proposed abolition of the ceiling on employee national insurance contributions does, however, merit more applause. The ceiling on

employee contributions is an anomaly in the direct tax system whereby employees earning more than £390 a week pay a lower average rate of contributions than those earning immediately below that amount. This anomaly has been getting worse in recent years with the contribution ceiling only being uprated in line with prices rather than earnings. As a result the ceiling has fallen from being 145 per cent of male average earnings in 1981 to less than 120 per cent in 1990.

Abolition of the ceiling does however create problems for other areas of the tax and benefit system. An individual's record of contributions is used to determine eligibility to state benefits such as the earnings-related pension. Labour will presumably not wish to generate greatly increased entitlements to State Pension by future generations.

If however additional contributions on earnings above the old ceiling are deemed to produce no additional benefit entitlement then they would clearly be more appropriately regarded as an alternative form of income tax. Such a move might represent the final nail in the coffin of the so-called "contributory principle".

Design for brains of Britain

By DAVID TYTLER, EDUCATION EDITOR

REFORMED A-levels, an education standards council and guaranteed access to facilities at both ends of the educational age spectrum are at the heart of Labour policy in making education the big issue of the general election campaign. Jack Straw, Labour's front-bench education spokesman, said: "Labour is going to make Britain the best-educated nation in Europe."

Under Labour, every 16-year-old would be given the "right to learn", with a recognised qualification, whether they stayed at school, went into full-time training or took a job. Within five years of forming a government, Labour says, it will aim for four out of five 16 to 18-year-olds to have at least five GCSEs at grades A to C or their equivalent. A-levels will be extended



Straw: "best-educated nation in Europe"

and brought into line with vocational qualifications so that a single system is open to all 18-year-olds. Labour also says that it will provide nursery education for every child aged three and four whose parents want it.

The main plank of policy is the proposed Education Standards Council, which would be made up of some parts of

the HMI and the local inspectors. All schools - state and private - would be expected to follow the national curriculum and be given standards to achieve. The council would also be responsible for annual awards to be given to schools which have demonstrated their effectiveness in varying aspects of school life, and not just on the basis of examination results. Inspectors would monitor progress to identify strengths and weaknesses.

Grant-maintained schools, now a central part of Conservative policy, would be handed back to local authorities while independent schools would be allowed to continue, keeping their charitable status only if they could prove they deserved it.

A General Teaching Council would oversee standards and some schools would be designated as teacher-training centres, where newly-qualified teachers would be supervised.

One local election may reflect nation's view

Poll tax high on voters' agenda

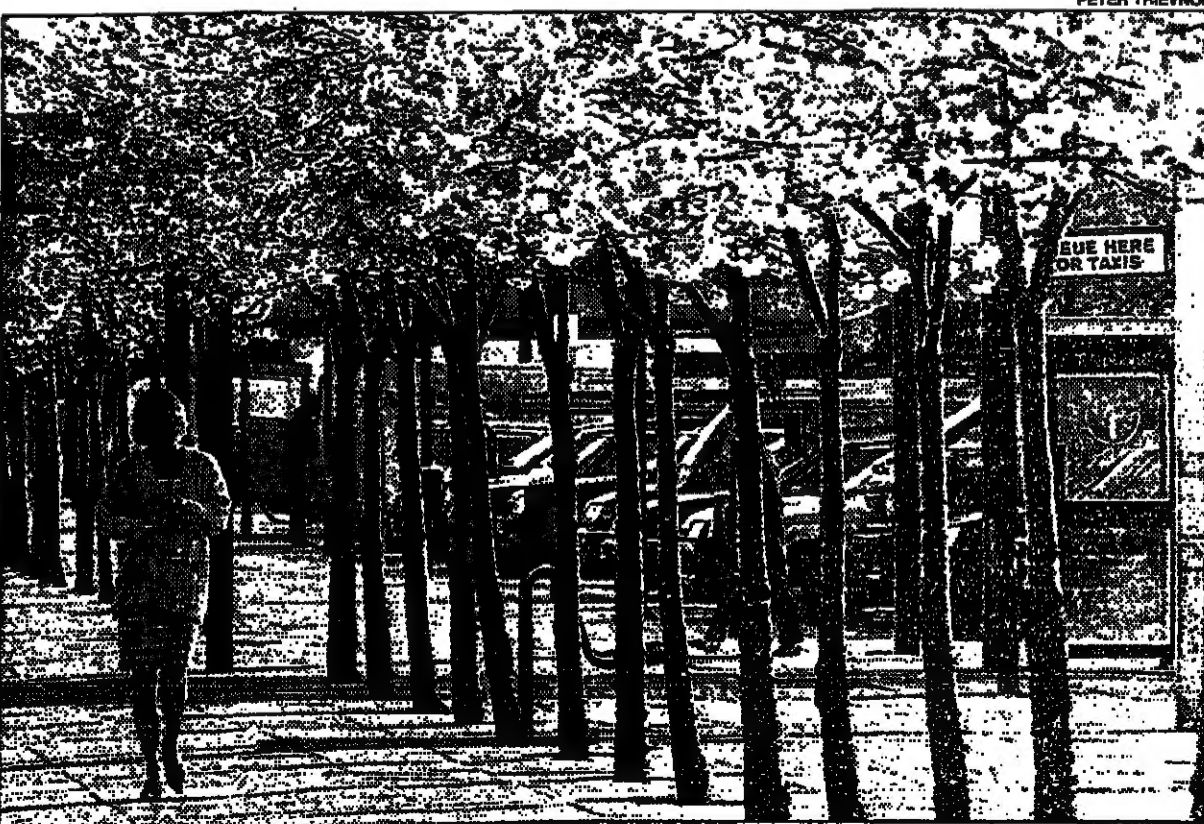
By DAVID YOUNG

IN MILTON Keynes the local political parties are preparing the stage for an election which may well provide an accurate indication of how an autumn general election would go.

Milton Keynes is exactly the type of place that will reflect the popularity or otherwise of Conservative policies. It is also the type of place that will reflect the popularity or otherwise of Labour party must increase its appeal if it is to form a government.

On the face of it, Milton Keynes does not have the problems of other large towns in the Midlands. The shops are full, the car parks packed with new models and 41 builders are still building and selling new homes. Unemployment is well below the national average at just over 3 per cent. However, the poll tax has been an important local issue and at the next general election the voters will return two MPs for the city when the constituency, Britain's largest, is split and the sitting Conservative MP retires.

The local election on May 2 will therefore be a test of whether voters like the replacements for the poll tax



Springtime blossoms on Midsummer Boulevard, the shopping area in prosperous but charge-capped Milton Keynes

mooted by both parties. Last year the unpopularity of the tax put Labour in power on the local council for the first time when it won six of the 15 seats being voted for. This year, with another 15 seats being contested, Labour hopes to increase its council majority of two.

Last night, the council accepted the government's charge capping and reduced its budget from £22.3 million to £20.2 million, the equivalent of a £16 poll tax

cut. The council's savings and the government's £140 subsidy will bring down the poll tax from £455 to £299.

Kevin Wilson, the Labour leader of the council, said: "The government failed to recognise our special needs as a new city. We are still looking to save money."

The irony is that while Milton Keynes is a prosperous new city the council is among the poorest in the land. In spite of the acres of new factories and rows of gleaming office buildings,

the council's only asset in the city centre is its overcrowded office block and its only other revenue earning assets are two old pubs and 89 houses whose freehold it owns.

Mr Wilson said: "As a council we are responsible for running the largest new town in the country but we do not have any funding apart from the income from the poll tax. Behind the glamour of Milton Keynes there are other real problems we are having to cope with

and we do not have the funding. There is a serious problem of homelessness, mounting debt and marital break up in the area."

"It is the type of area, on the face of it that Conservatives would have to win if they were to win the next general election but it is also the type of area that Labour would have to win if it were to form the next government. Milton Keynes is the type of place which precisely mirrors the trend nationally."

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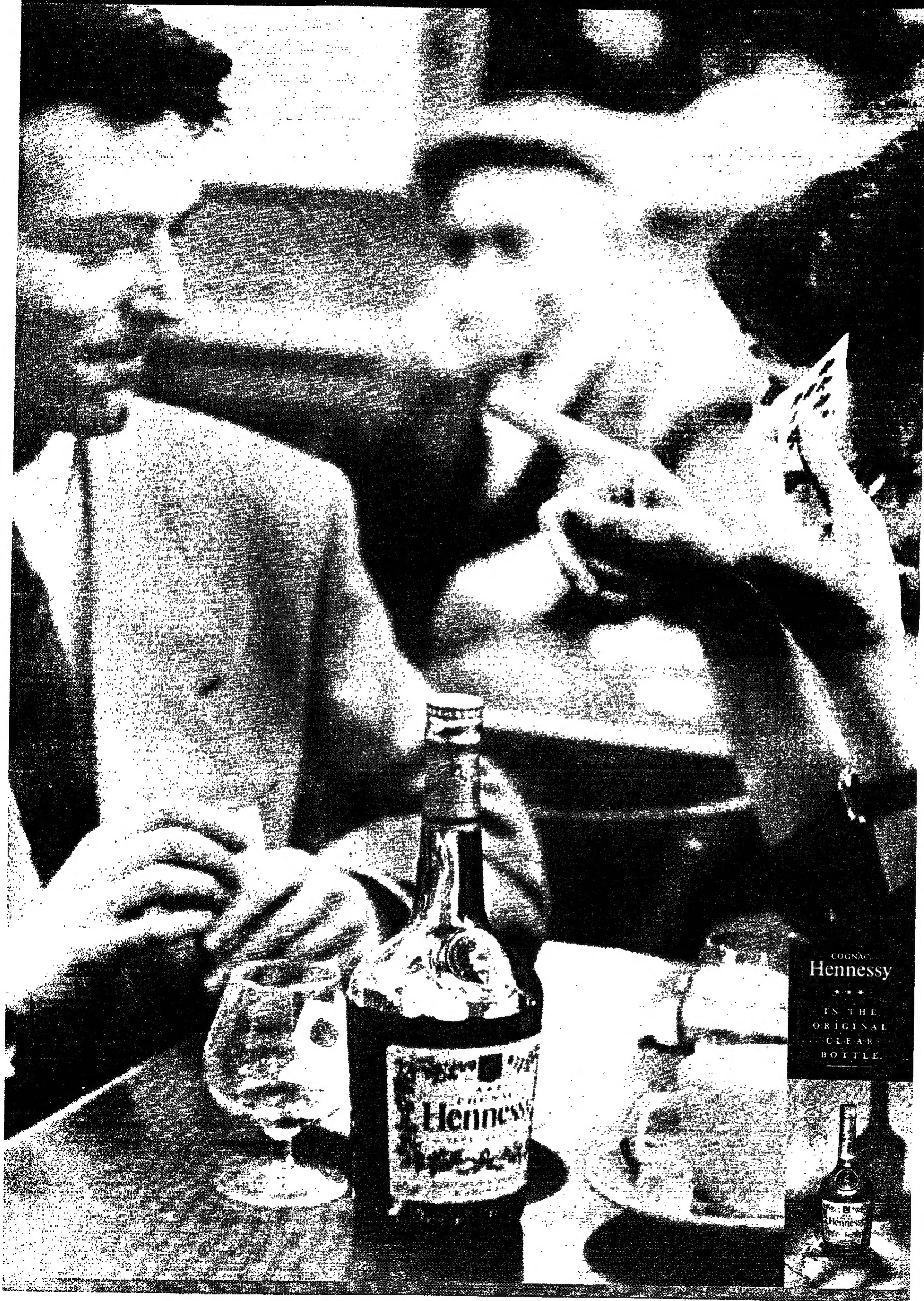
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3.3p in the pound enough for local tax, Democrats say

By ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR

THE Liberal Democrats disclosed their plans yesterday for a local income tax as a replacement for the community charge or Labour's proposed "fair rates". All the money raised by the present poll tax could be matched by an average increase of 3.3p in the pound, the party said.

Under the Liberal Democrat plan, each local authority would set its own local income tax rate. To spare employers problems, the tax would be collected at a uniform rate of, say, 4 per cent by the Inland Revenue. At the year's end those living in an area with a lower local income tax would get a rebate. Those living in areas with a higher rate would pay a surcharge. In practice,

the party said, 70 to 80 per cent would get refunds.

The party document, *Local Income Tax - The Best Way*, said that collection costs would be lower than those of the poll tax, no new collection body would be needed and the highly visible nature of the year-end tax adjustments, just before local elections in May, would enable taxpayers to compare the spending record of their council with that of others. The tax would be based on the ability to pay, simple to collect and hard to avoid.

The party added that households with incomes of £10,000 a year would pay an average of £164 and incomes of £20,000 would generate tax charges of £304 (the average poll tax bill this year for a two-person household in England). Incomes of £30,000 would attract charges of £424.

High earners would pay much more. A household with an income of £80,000 would be expected to pay £2,474 towards local services and those on £100,000 would pay £3,134. Alan Beith, the party's Treasury spokesman, conceded that middle-income households with two or more people working could lose.

In some high-spending areas, the rate of tax would have to be up to 1.5p in the pound higher to meet present budgets, leaving middle and high-income households with an even heavier burden. Equally, some low-spending councils would need to charge less than 3.3p in the pound to meet present spending levels.

Mr Beith said that pensioners, students and low-earners would either be exempt from paying for local services or would face considerably lower charges than under the poll tax. "What people hated most about the poll tax was the fact that it was not related to the ability to pay."

"Any reform of the poll tax system will lead to people generally on higher incomes paying more - we cannot duck that. Neither the government's proposals, as far as we can tell, nor Labour's rates

plans are linked to the ability to pay. Local income tax is easy to understand, efficient and cheap to administer as well as being fair. No other system can match local income tax on any of these points. Local income tax means no poll tax register, no 20 per cent contribution, no revaluation, no need for rebates."

The Liberal Democrat document pointed out that there are 25.2 million income tax payers (counting husbands and wives as a single unit) compared with only 19.8 million ratepayers; the proposed tax would spread the burden across a wider proportion of the population.

The party denied claims by ministers that sensitive information about people's finances would have to be collected by local councils. With the Inland Revenue collecting the tax, there would be no need for local registers and present ways of countering evasion would suffice. Full computerisation would not be required.



Beith: middle-income households may lose

Fighting free of poll tax

By TONY TRAVERS

Will the government really get rid of the poll tax? Many marginal votes may be swung by the answer - or people's perception of the answer - to this question. Like everything else in local government finance, "abolishing" the community charge is not a simple matter of black and white.

The present community charge is certainly a poll tax. Virtually the whole population pays it, although millions of people get rebates.

The dear old rating system, whatever its other faults, was not a poll tax. It was levied on householders as the occupiers of domestic properties. The amount of tax paid varied not with the number of adults in each property, but with the rental value of the house or flat.

Recently the government has been struggling to replace the poll tax with a levy that will retain the principle of the community charge. The principle is generally taken to mean that there should be some relationship between the amount that is paid by each

household and the number of adults in it. Thus by doing ministers' bidding, civil servants inevitably have arrived back at something that could easily be labelled a poll tax.

In recent weeks, newspapers have been issued regularly with descriptions of the government's latest thinking on the subject of property-and-people taxes. Early indications were of a property tax with a flat-rate addition for all non-householders, which would still have been seen as a poll tax.

A little later, ministers floated the idea of a property tax that would assume that there were three adults in each household, but where two and one-adult households could claim discounts. Looked at another way, for a similar property, a single adult would have paid a rates bill, two adults would have paid that bill plus, say, £50 and three adults or more a further £50 again. Given that the government would have fixed the extra amounts for two and three-plus adult households, the Opposition could have argued that that was a poll tax.

Next, we saw that min-

isters were thinking of a rating system that assumed that there were two adults in each property, with a discount for single-adult households and an extra payment for three or more adults. Once again, that would have looked suspiciously like a poll tax.

Finally, reports have centred on the idea of a property tax that would simply have a discount for single-adult households. All households with two or more adults would pay a straightforward property tax bill. Single householders would volunteer for a big discount.

The last option would be much harder to call a poll tax because most households would simply pay the property tax. In short, the government can free itself from the accusation of producing Poll Tax II only by ensuring that any relationship between adult numbers and local tax bills is achieved by discounts rather than additions and by limiting the discounts to a minority of households.

The author is a research director at the LSE.

Labour drops NHS threat

By JOHN WINDER AND NICHOLAS WOOD

ROBIN Cook, Labour's chief health spokesman, was forced yesterday to withdraw a veiled threat to the career prospects of health service managers.

The Labour spokesman backed down in the Commons in response to pressure from William Waldegrave, the health secretary, and Conservative MPs angered by Mr Cook's suggestion that managers who embraced the government's health reforms too enthusiastically might not find their contracts renewed. Such hints have also been dropped by David Nellist and John Hughes, two Coventry Labour MPs, in a letter to their local hospital.

Jeremy Hayes, a secretary of the Tory backbench health committee, told MPs that Mr Cook's remarks a year ago had been condemned by *The Health Service Journal*. The magazine described them in an editorial as "a flagrant intimidation of NHS managers."

Mr Waldegrave reminded Mr Cook that Neil Kinnock had repudiated all such pressure on health service staff. According to a letter from the Labour leader to Mr Waldegrave, which was released later, Mr Kinnock had said that he found such threats "as meaningless as they are objectionable".

The health secretary said: "I have to say that Mr Cook made similar threats himself and the House is therefore owed an endorsement by him of Mr Kinnock's repudiation of the two MPs and withdrawal of his own threats about renewal of contracts after an election."

Mr Cook replied: "I fully associate myself with the repudiation by the leader of the party of the remarks about the future of the hospital. I take the opportunity of assuring managers that there will be no problem in renewing the contracts of those managers who serve the next Labour government as loyally as they do this government."

Pay body for teachers

A PAY review body for the country's 400,000 state school teachers will be announced today by Kenneth Clarke, the education secretary (Nicholas Wood writes).

Mr Clarke will make a Commons statement detailing the government's plans to enhance the status of the profession by putting it on a par with other public sector groups such as doctors and senior civil servants.

The announcement will be opposed by the National Union of Teachers, the biggest of the six bodies representing teachers. Doug McAvoy, its general secretary, has said that a review body would depress salaries. The other five teacher unions will broadly support Mr Clarke's remedy.

MP deliberately set off complaint

By SHEILA GUNN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A FEUD between two MPs has exposed an anomaly in the declaration of members' interests that favours the Conservatives. Under the rules, trade union contributions must be declared by MPs; company gifts to Tory constituency offices, however, are rarely disclosed.

Dale Campbell-Savours, Labour MP for Workington, said yesterday that, to show up the anomaly, he deliberately provoked a complaint to the House committee on members' interests about his failure to declare his Confederation of Health Service Employees sponsorship during hearings of the Commons public accounts committee.

The Conservative MP Michael Mates reported him to the Commons committee on members' interests. Mr Campbell-Savours, a tenacious campaigner for a more open parliamentary system, had complained to the committee previously that Mr Mates had failed to declare his business links when chairing the defence committee.

In its report published yesterday, the members' interests committee found that Mr Campbell-Savours was technically in breach of the declaration rules. But the committee promised a broader review of the rules and did not recommend any action to discipline him.

Mr Campbell-Savours said yesterday: "I am pleased about the report. For six years I have argued that if a pound paid to a constituency party by an MP, then why should a pound paid by a trade union be declarable?"

In his case to the committee, Mr Campbell-Savours cites donations of £5,000 from Boddington Group to Conservative associations in the Northwest in 1988 and 1989.

The committee accepted that the rules do not make clear whether trade union sponsorship, when an MP receives no money directly, should be declared. "Pending our broader review", it added, "[our] opinion is that members should continue to declare any sponsorship arrangement by a trade union or otherwise, in which they are involved and irrespective of whether they receive personal payment, which it is relevant for them to do so."

House of Commons select committee on members' interests: *Second Report* (Stationery Office, £6.70).



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TURKEY

'Animal' treatment of Kurdish refugees provokes outrage

FROM CHRISTOPHER WALKER IN SILOPI

THE first of the estimated 600,000 Kurdish refugees inside or still approaching Turkey have left the mountains for the relative comfort of this new camp on the Turkish plain, but the scheme has run into international criticism.

The Kurds have been forced to make the journey to the new camp 25 km north of the Iraqi border crammed like sheep into coal lorries commandeered by the Turks.

Paul Howell, a Conser-

as if their horror is being deliberately worsened in an effort to force them to turn back to Iraq.

"At the moment, the European Parliament is passing legislation about the transportation of animals which would not permit them the kind of conditions that these Kurds are being made to face."

Turkish security men yesterday attempted to prevent Mr Howell and a small group of Western aid workers and this correspondent from entering the new makeshift camp, but later relented after intervention by the Turkish governor of the town of Silopi, Osman Akbush.

Mr Akbush rejected recent Western criticism of Turkey's treatment of the Kurdish refugees and alleged that foreign money and help had not been forthcoming in sufficient quantities. Asked whether there was now a reversal of the earlier policy of preventing the Iraqi Kurds from coming down into Turkey from their insubstantial mountain death-traps, he replied: "I just do not know."

By last night 2,000 Kurds had moved to Silopi and up to 20,000 were expected. In camps policed by Turkish soldiers Kurds were still being forced at gunpoint to remain on mountainsides where living conditions are daily becoming more hazardous and causing increasing deaths.

American helicopters roared overhead yesterday transporting aid to the more far flung areas where the majority of the Kurds remained. Dr Bart Meinen of the charity, Médecins Sans Frontières, at the mountain camp housing some 150,000 refugees, confirmed that influence had been used to allow the small number to escape to the warmer, better supplied and more hygienic plain below.

"Inevitably, it is the poorest and weakest who will be the last to leave," the doctor from Amsterdam said.



Aid flight: Kurdish refugees on the Turkish border run from a landing US relief helicopter. A hundred tents were blown over by the downdraft

IRAN

Camp suffering shocks official

FROM MICHAEL THEODOULOU IN NICOSIA

SHOCKED by the suffering and squalor she saw at an Iranian border camp, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) yesterday warned the world of a human tragedy that could be averted only by the swift arrival of huge amounts of international aid.

"Iran has done a lot by opening its borders and even its doors, but its resources are limited and not adequate," Sadako Ogata said. "A human tragedy is unfolding right in front of us. Massive mobilisation of resources is needed to avert it."



Ogata: "Iran's resources are not adequate to cope"

Officials at the border said queues 30 miles long were crawling along mountain roads to get into Iran, which has already taken in more than a million Kurdish and Shi'a refugees, twice as many as Turkey.

Britain, which has three giant Chinook transport helicopters already in Turkey, is to send six more to help the relief operation. The six Chinooks, still in desert camouflage, saw action in the Gulf war and were being shipped home when their carrier was diverted to Cyprus on Sunday. They will leave the RAF base at Akrotiri for Incirlik in Turkey today or tomorrow.

Iraq withdrew its troops from Iranian territory along the northern border yesterday after Iran told Baghdad through its embassy in Tehran to do so or be responsible for any "dangerous consequences".

Iranian officials are relocating tens of thousands of refugees to towns inside Iran to relieve the pressure on border towns. President Rahnjani urged the Iranian people to forget the eight-year war with Iraq and to continue to care for the refugees.

Turkish leader criticises West for inadequate relief operation

By MICHAEL EVANS, DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

THE Turkish prime minister yesterday rebuked governments and aid agencies which have criticised his country's handling of the Kurdish refugees fleeing from Iraqi troops. Yildirim Akbulut, who was in London for the launch of the new European Bank, said Turkey could not cope with the 400,000 refugees on its own.

He promised that more refugees would be brought down from the mountains, where thousands are reported to have died, but he said Turkey was already dealing with 400,000 refugees. Once they were all moved to a lower region, the other 200,000 on the Iraqi side of the mountain would want to join them.

"Where do we put them?" he asked.

Mr Akbulut told a press conference that the only permanent solution was "to create the environment" in which they could be returned to their own homes in Iraq under a United Nations guarantee of safety. He said that although he was grateful for the 25 aid aircraft that had arrived so far, that was "just a drop in the sea". Only 8,000 tents had been sent. "If you have eight people to a tent, you need 50,000 to accommodate 400,000," he said. "But who has got them? Who will provide them?"

The prime minister also rejected claims that Turkish

soldiers had mistreated Kurdish refugees. "The soldiers are living in the same cold and snow and rain on the mountainside as these people. But we see the Turkish soldiers [on television] pushing persons to have order established."

"This is interpreted as Turkish soldiers torturing these people. This is the image and I don't think it's a fair interpretation. The Turkish soldiers have not caused the death of one Iraqi citizen yet," he said.

Mr Akbulut said the Gulf war had made a heavy impact on the Turkish economy and now the refugee tragedy was costing the Ankara govern-

ment two billion lira (£298,000) a day. The whole of Turkey had been mobilised to help the refugees but providing shelter, food and medicine could only be a "temporary solution".

He said Turkey had accepted 9,000 Iraqi refugees before the war had started, another 100,000 Iraqis in 1988, and a further 300,000 Bulgarian Turks last year. Which other country had taken on so many refugees, he asked? So far only 500 of the refugees had been taken up by other countries, 350 of them by France. "I don't want to make comparisons," Mr Akbulut said, "but just think about it."

Chalker to raise case of hostage

Another Middle East war has come and gone. A new Archbishop of Canterbury has assumed office and other hostages walk free, but as John McCarthy marks his fifth year in captivity of purgatory there is no sign of his salvation (David Watts writes).

Mr McCarthy was new to Beirut when the US bombed Libya in 1986. He knew the significance of that for a foreign journalist and made to leave the country. When he drove to the airport on April 17, 1986, his path was blocked by gunmen.

When Lynda Chalker, the overseas aid and development minister, arrives in Tehran on Friday, she will raise the McCarthy case. But, despite the improving links with Tehran, there have been no signs that Mr McCarthy will benefit from the new atmosphere.

Another long-term British hostage is Terry Waite, the Church of England envoy. Yesterday Dr George Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, said he was willing to go to the Middle East if it would help secure Mr Waite's release.

Papal offer

Rome — The Pope said the Catholic Church wanted to help Gulf war victims and build peace in the Middle East. The church's annual message to Muslims is usually sent by the Vatican's Council for Inter-religious Dialogue, but he said the tragic effects of the war had prompted him to write it himself. (Reuter)

Lebanese freed

Nicosia — Cyprus has freed six Lebanese jailed after being caught preparing to assassinate Lebanon's Christian leader Michel Aoun at Larnaca airport, police here said. They were repatriated after serving only 17 months of their sentences of between five and eight years. (AFP)

US troops hide

Rome — About 50 American servicemen who refused to fight in the Gulf war are hiding in Germany, according to Clare Overlander, a New York lawyer who is representing five who returned to military control voluntarily. US European Command in Stuttgart said it had no estimate of deserters. (Reuter)

US INITIATIVE

Baker resumes mission to secure Middle East deal

By MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON AND MICHAEL THEODOULOU IN NICOSIA

JAMES Baker, the American Secretary of State, left Washington yesterday for his third trip to the Middle East in six weeks in pursuit of that elusive and perhaps impossible peace settlement which evaded the best efforts of three of his distinguished predecessors: Henry Kissinger, Cyrus Vance and George Shultz.

Ten months ago Mr Baker had virtually given up hope of brokering an Israeli-Palestinian settlement, publicly divulging the White House phone number and telling an in-transigent Israeli government: "When you are serious about peace, call us." Today he is fired up again, determined to take advantage of the brief "window of opportunity" presented by Arab-Israeli unity against Iraq, hoping against hope for the breakthrough that would crown America's military triumph in the Gulf and prevent it being tarnished by the Kurdish tragedy.

He is buoyed by praise from Syria, long regarded as Israel's most implacable enemy and which traditionally had been inflexible in its approach to a regional Middle East peace settlement. "The American

effort wins the appreciation of Arabs and the world," said Tishrin, a leading Syrian newspaper. Such efforts were necessary because the Middle East is a "hot and explosive pit", said the paper, which until the Gulf war had a record of hostility towards America.

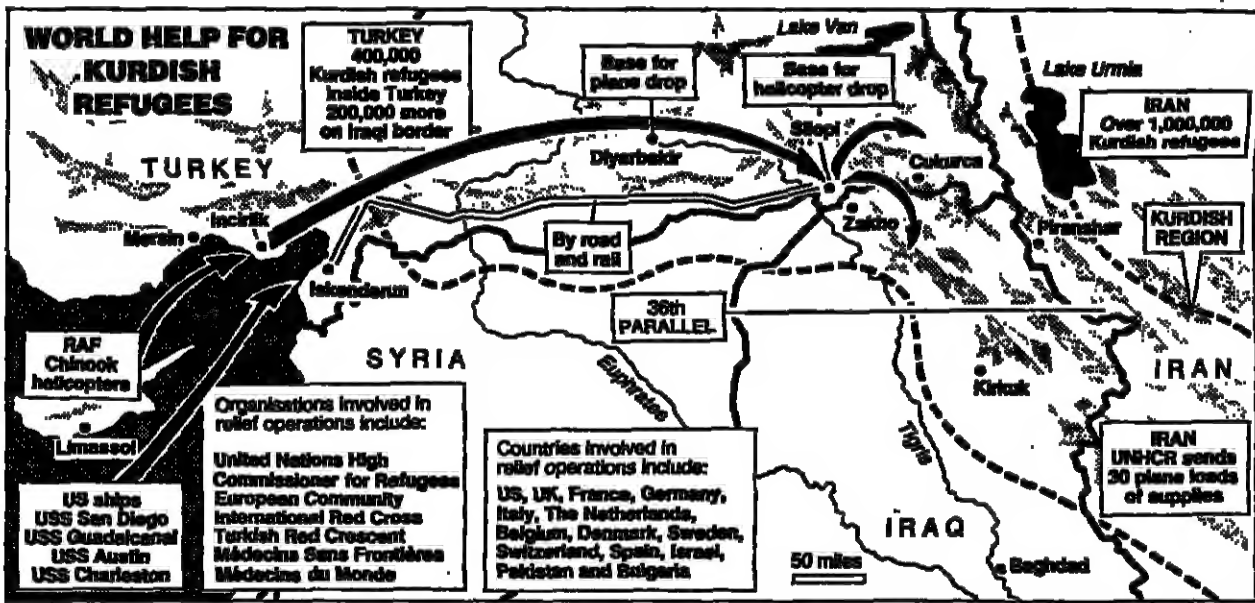
Mr Baker is nothing if not a realist. As his aides make clear, he will continue his efforts only so long as he is convinced all parties are serious. He will not allow talks about talks to become an end in themselves, and he will use this trip to determine just how far the leaders involved are prepared to go. If dissatisfied with the answers, it could be his last, while progress could pave the way for a presidential visit to the region.

Last week, Mr Baker secured the approval in principle of Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Jordan to the idea of a peace conference, hosted by the United States and possibly Moscow, which would act as a vehicle for promoting direct negotiations between Arabs and Israelis. This time he will want to establish the framework and agenda of that conference, and

that will require genuine concessions. Israel is adamant that it will not trade land for peace, but several Arab states say the conference must be based on the UN resolutions which enshrine that principle. The Arabs want an international peace conference, the Israelis a regional peace conference which would exclude Europeans they see as pro-Arab. The most vexed question is who would represent the Palestinians, with the Israelis insisting on the exclusion of anyone linked to the Palestinian Liberation Organisation.

Mr Baker will go to Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria and also plans to visit Jordan, the first senior American official to do so since it sided with Iraq during the Gulf war. Though relations remain frosty, Washington recognises that as Israel's neighbour and home to millions of Palestinians, Jordan will have a key role to play in any settlement.

"Today, on his way to the Middle East, Mr Baker will brief EC foreign ministers in Luxembourg on his efforts and seek to co-ordinate policy on the region."



KUWAIT

Pollution damage rising with Gulf pall

By MICHAEL MCCARTHY

UP TO 16,000 tonnes of black smoke a day are thought to be rising into the sky above Kuwait from burning oil wells, an American scientist, studying the problem for the Pentagon, told a meeting at Essex university yesterday.

"We have never seen a pollution event of this magnitude," Richard Small said. The burning well-heads were injecting up to half a million tonnes of soot into the atmosphere a month, he said, and perhaps another 100,000 tonnes had been thrown up by

the burning of oil refinery storage tanks. Over the 600-mile extent of the smoke plume, there would be long-term damage to agriculture, vegetation, drinking water, animals and people, Dr Small said.

He is an expert on the "nuclear winter" theory — the predicted cutting off of the sun's light and heat by huge amounts of dust thrown up by a nuclear exchange. Before the Gulf war began, this theory was used as a basis to predict the outcome if Kuwaiti oil

wells were set on fire. In January, he forecast for the Pentagon that although there would be severe pollution, the Earth's climate would not be affected. Some scientists were then predicting that the Asian monsoon would fail. Events have borne out Dr Small's view. Yesterday he told a meeting of scientists from a number of countries that there were 743 oil wells in Kuwait, of which 363 were producing. The rest were shut down before the Iraqi invasion on August 2 last year. About 500

were now believed to be on fire, and the calculation for the amount of smoke they were producing was based on their flow rate and the physical properties of their oil.

"In terms of global climate, the effects of the fires is quite small. But for the region it is devastating," he said. One question to be settled was how Saudi Arabia and Iran as well as Kuwait, would seek reparations from Iraq for pollution damage.

Leading article, page 17

Migrants find Israel an unpromising land

FROM RICHARD BEESTON IN BEERSHEVA

IF YURI Vulach had to make the choice again, he would have stayed in Riga, rather than begin his new life in this drab, Israeli town on the edge of the Negev desert, where his prospects for a good job and a decent home are slim and becoming bleaker each day.

At 8.30 in the morning on the top floor of the decaying concrete building which houses the absorption ministry in Beersheva, the recent arrivals from the Soviet Union, queuing up in corridors for money and advice, could be forgiven for believing that they had never escaped the notorious corridors of Soviet bureaucracy.

"We feel deceived by the people in power," said Mr Vulach, aged 30, who worked as a physiotherapist in Latvia. "If I had the choice I would have preferred to remain in the Soviet Union and try to obtain a visa for the US. I do not see any

opportunity of finding a decent job here for at least the next five years," Mr Vulach added.

Absorption into any new country is never easy, as Israelis will tell you. With Soviet Jews arriving until recently at the rate of 1,000 a day, the country cannot hope to accommodate adequately the one million immigrants expected to arrive from Moscow by 1994.

Yehuda Weinraub, of the Jewish Agency, the semi-government organisation responsible for immigration, explained: "We do not know what will happen in the Soviet Union, or for that matter in the Middle East over the coming years, and our policy is to enable as many Jews to get out while they can and worry about how to absorb them afterwards."

Although Israeli officials claim that today's immigrants receive much more efficient care than those who came when Israel was founded 43 years ago, they have an impos-

sible task in finding enough work for highly qualified professionals, such as scientists and doctors, many of whom left the Soviet Union to improve their economic status rather than because of Zionist ideals.

The grumbling in Beersheva is by no means isolated; the latest unemployment claims indicate a 35 per cent increase throughout the country last month and even steeper rises in immigrant towns such as Nazareth, where applications were up 126 per cent, and Tiberies, where they rose 79.5 per cent.

The situation is so critical in some areas that scores of Russian women have turned to prostitution and immigrants can be found on market day in the Arab area of Jerusalem selling old clothes and trinkets in an effort to raise money.

Vladimir Seri, aged 45, a former contract supplier from Lvov in the Ukraine, had to wash cars for a pound an hour when he first arrived. Although he now has a job as a

building inspector, he readily concedes that he was given the work by a sympathetic Israeli businessman who could dismiss him any day.

The shortage of jobs and escalating property prices, caused by the influx of Soviet Jews, have also led to friction in the poorer Israeli communities. Mr Seri's son, Alexander, aged 20, refuses to speak Russian when he walks through the streets of Beersheva. "People do not like Russians much here," he said. "Sometimes they tell you to go back to the Soviet Union."

Michael Kleiner, the chairman of the Knesset's immigration committee, who issued a warning recently that one million Soviet Jews with visas already granted had halted their plans to emigrate because of conditions in Israel, said: "They are willing to sweep the streets and work in construction for a year or two, but they want to see opportunities ahead, and they don't."

ISRAEL

Shamir underlines Soviet role in search for peace

By DAVID WATTS, DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

THE key to Soviet participation in a Middle East peace settlement is for Moscow to establish diplomatic relations with Israel, Yitzhak Shamir, the Israeli prime minister, told his Soviet counterpart in the first such contact between the two countries.

After his meeting with Valentin Pavlov in London, Mr Shamir told a press conference that he thought the Soviet Union would consider Israel's case for resumption "sympathetically".

The Soviet Union has not established full relations until now because of Israel's refusal to guarantee that Jewish immigrants will not be settled on the West Bank. Regular air services have yet to be

organised between the two countries and Moscow is apparently in no hurry to move the process forward.

Stretching the sympathy of Israel's other main interlocutor more than a little, Mr Shamir admitted that another settlement had been established on the West Bank only hours before James Baker, the American Secretary of State, is due in Tel Aviv in the latest round of shuttle diplomacy.

He said that the settlement at Keryva had nothing to do with the pursuit of peace. "We have explained that it doesn't make any difference whether there are 100 or 120 settlements with 100 or 120,000 Israelis, because a political solution will be accepted out-

side this fact," Mr Shamir said. "In Israel we have hundreds of thousands of Arabs and they are building homes all the time and nobody pays any attention. I don't see any connection between the settlements and the peace process."

Israel was encouraged by Mr Baker's decision to dedicate so much time to the issue: "It demonstrates the readiness of the United States to do everything possible to get peace in the Middle East," Mr Shamir said. A Soviet-Israeli rapprochement was "absolutely necessary" before any regional peace conference. "The Soviets will have to discuss the plans with the United States. They will have to fulfil a common function."

150

1,000 Romanian children say 'thank you?'

"Grey walls, white ceiling, cement floor, no toys, no pictures. Far worse than their sick bodies - unnaturally white, with limbs like sticks, frail trunks topped by huge domed heads - was the noise the children made. It was a click-click sound: dry, not loud, like something a big insect might make. It took a while before we realised they were grinding their teeth."

The reporter who wrote these words was describing a Romanian orphanage in 1989, just after the December Revolution.

Convoys of toys, nappies and food were soon being sent across Europe. Some of the first were organised by the Romanian Orphanage Trust, whose anniversary it is today.

It became clear, however, that toys were not enough. Many of the children had no idea how to play with them. Children as old as three, neglected since birth, still had the mental age of newborn babies.

The Trust sent out teams of volunteers to help. By simply picking them up and holding them, taking them out of the cots in which they had lived, slept, and urinated, children in ten orphanages have slowly been brought back to life.

It's not acceptable to give emotional support for a short

time and then withdraw it. We have made a commitment to keep our teams working in these orphanages for as long as they are needed.

As well as caring for the children's minds, we are caring for their bodies. Some, confined for years to their cots with rags tied round their groins to absorb the urine, have deformities of the legs or dislocated hips. AIDS is rife. These children are now being given proper supervision by doctors and nurses.

Living conditions are being drastically improved. Most orphanages had no baths, no showers, no kitchens, no heating and no curtains. Because the children were never toilet-trained, the government economised by not installing toilets. Broken windows weren't replaced - the draughts helped get rid of the stench.

This massive undertaking is only part of our plan for the children's future. Together with the National Nursery Examination Board, we have set up a programme to train Romanian staff.

We are also organising a fostering scheme, Romania's

THE ROMANIAN ORPHANAGE TRUST



first, which will place eighty children in long-term local foster care next year.

Three small houses have been built in Bacau, where 12 children will live in a family environment, looked after by Romanian houseparents. Our Housing Appeal has raised money for 50 houses in all, built and run in partnership with Wimpey and Barnardos.

So far, one thousand children have benefited from these projects. Each initiative has been planned with the new Romanian government, whom we are advising on a complete social welfare policy. Each is run by full time staff, so there is no risk of funds being diverted to less charitable hands.

It costs £25 to keep a team member working for one more day. If you would like to support us in our work, please fill in the coupon.

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Walesa glosses over differences ahead of British visit



Walesa: trying to step up the pace of Polish reform

PRESIDENT Walesa yesterday brushed off criticism that he was waging a campaign against Britain and souring the prospects of a successful state visit to London next week. "The English are all right," he said. "They're quiet, they're slow, they count things carefully, they hesitate — and I'm switching to their track."

The president's office took the unusual step last week of calling in Stephen Barret, the British ambassador to Poland, to complain about a BBC documentary series, *In Solidarity*, and press reports that had presented Mr Walesa as something of a villain.

Attacks on the British know-how fund and the BBC Polish service have become a regular feature of the weekly *Tygodnik Solidarnosc* newspaper, and British visitors to Poland usually receive a lecture from Mr Walesa about the British role in the Yalta

agreement that handed Poland over to Stalin. As Windsor Castle is prepared for his visit next Tuesday, and the British government tries to come up with even more generous ways to write off the Polish debt than was agreed by the Paris Club, it is clear, however, that Mr Walesa has decided it is time to be nice to the English. "I wasn't in the country when your ambassador was called in," he said. "I wouldn't have done it."

The man responsible for the ticking off was Sławomir Świątek, an important — if increasingly vulnerable — under-secretary in the president's office. He objected to the tone of the BBC documentary, but the British ambassador told him it was not up to the British government to control the media.

Mr Walesa has now promised that he will let Polish television broadcast the documentary. "Still, I don't hold any grudges against my colleagues and friends for defending the president, or Poland," he said. "They didn't have my permission, nor was I even informed — but that's democracy!"

Mr Walesa says he is committed to accelerating domestic and foreign policy reforms. He wants Britain to follow the example of France and other members of the European Community countries by lifting visa obligations on Poles. He also believes that Britain should take a role in urging the EC to be more receptive towards east European products. "We have a steelworks, Nowa Huta, that is destroying Cracow. But France has an efficient steel industry. We can give up this steelworks in the French or your favour, providing

you do something about retraining the 60,000 workers that will be made redundant."

It is clear that the Polish president understands the workings of the Soviet Union better than those of the EC. He pledged during his election campaign to throw the Soviet army, a contingent of about 52,000 men, out of Poland. Now that the final preparations are being made for a summit meeting with President Gorbachev, however, he boxes more cautiously. "The Soviet Union remains a superpower in the military and nuclear sense. Only the economy is in difficulty," he said. "People want me to lead the troops out or chuck them over the border, but I have neither the strength nor the will to do it."

Although the deadline still stands, it is obvious that Mr Walesa would be prepared to let

the Soviet withdrawal continue into next year. "I don't want to humiliate the Soviet army — I want simply to prove that there is no political sense to their staying here, that it does pay economically."

He wants big concessions from western Europe, particularly admission to the EC, but he is making more modest demands of the Soviet Union: unlimited access to former Polish territories such as Lwów and Vilnius, protection for Polish minorities, and a full disclosure about the Soviet massacre of Poles in Katyn Forest.

After eleven years of street politics, Mr Walesa is evidently getting used to the institutions of power. He remains, however, a very mobile politician, capable of dropping unpopolar policies overnight and constantly shuffling his political advisers.

Old friends desert Gorbachev in the rush to avoid blame

From BRUCE CLARK IN MOSCOW

WHENEVER President Gorbachev leaves the Soviet Union he must fancy at times that he can hear the sound of knives being sharpened back in Moscow.

His hold on the positions that underpin his authority — state president and party chief — is looking tenuous as calls for his resignation, originally launched by striking coalminers, are taken up by old-guard Communists.

Yesterday the Communist party secretaries from 13 cities, including Moscow and Leningrad, appealed for the country's salvation from scoundrel persons wanting to introduce capitalism. "Our motherland is in danger... the dirtiest tricks are being used, to deprive us of our history and memory and to set us against each other," their statement read.

As different parts of the Soviet establishment scramble to avoid the responsibility for plunging output, industrial problems and the threat of hyperinflation, even those who normally support the president are pointedly hedging their bets.

One such is Boris Gidaspov, the Leningrad party boss who,

in remarks published yesterday as Mr Gorbachev arrived in Tokyo, deplored the "unforgivable passivity and inconsistency of the Communist leadership and the Soviet president personally". He told a party meeting that "we cannot continue with a policy that is incomprehensible to us, let alone the party masses and workers". Mr Gidaspov was the main speaker at the meeting for the relatively pro-Gorbachev faction. He faced opponents who wanted Mr Gorbachev's immediate removal.

News that the Communist policy-making central committee will meet next Wednesday, several weeks earlier than expected, was seen as a concession to grassroots discontent within the party. Vladimir Ivashko, the deputy party leader, has said the plenum will not discuss significant "personal changes" but ways of increasing Communist influence over the economy and in legislatures of all levels. But Mr Gorbachev's role seems certain to be challenged.

Komsomolskaya Pravda, the liberal Communist youth daily, recently carried an im-

passioned appeal for moderates to support the current leader, at a time when "there is much whispering in important political circles that the party, or at least its apparatus, is ready to sacrifice its general secretary".

Mr Gorbachev's chances of surviving as president will be heavily influenced by the tactics of Soyuz, the conservative parliamentary caucus which recently issued, and then backed off, threats to force an emergency meeting of the full Soviet legislature.

The liberal newspaper *Nesavisimaya* has suggested that Anatoli Lukyanov, the parliamentary Speaker and a nominal Gorbachev ally, is the group's secret patron. It said Mr Lukyanov had better connections at the top of the KGB than Mr Gorbachev, and that he was preparing to make his own bid for power.

The Soviet parliament, meanwhile, agreed in principle on a law which would ban political strikes. There seemed little immediate prospect of the leaders of the six-week-old miners' strike heeding the measure.

Pupils' greeting, page 12



Bull fight: Pedro Moya, known as El Niño de la Capea, hangs upside down as he is gored in the thigh during a fight in Seville. He was recovering in hospital yesterday

Major faces clash on EC draft treaty

From GEORGE BROCK IN STRASBOURG

AN AMBITIOUS treaty designed to take a more united European Community into the post-cold war world of the 1990s was presented to national governments yesterday. The 95-page provisional text, tabled by Luxembourg, currently the community president, tries to split the difference between the bewildering variety of plans aired at a special treaty conference since last December and will please neither federalists in a hurry nor the minority, including Britain, who want slower evolution.

The talks have divided. One part has digested a welter of plans for increasing the community's powers and streamlining its machinery. The other has wrestled with the problems of co-ordinating foreign policy. The outcome of both parts harbour difficulties for John Major's attempts to avoid open clashes with his community partners.

The suggestion that majority voting could speed the implementation of some joint foreign policy decisions will be resisted by Britain. The text specifically mentions the possibility that Britain and France might be the voice of the community in the United Nations Security Council, but adds that such decisions will be made only by unanimous agreement, as at present. The list of topics which might be treated as joint foreign policy, bargaining positions in disarmament talks, for example, is fairly modest, however, and leaves much scope for independent national action.

London will also try to water down the suggested extension of community powers to social and employment matters which the prime minister, like Margaret Thatcher before him, continues to insist are national responsibilities. Greater powers for Brussels to deal with environmental problems will be less controversial.

Both a new political treaty and a parallel agreement on monetary union are not likely to be completed until the end of this year. Arguments about the alphabet soup of Western defence groupings will stretch well beyond that. A group of countries, led by France and Italy and supported by Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, want Europe to run its own military alliance.

Mr Delors and others have suggested that the community should absorb the Western European Union (WEU), a re-emerging body which links nine members of both the EC and Nato. This group will be disappointed that the draft treaty does not empower the

community's heads of government to guide or direct the WEU, saying merely that appropriate military matters "can" be dealt with by the body.

The treaty text also creates a new level of community law to try to solve its lack of democratic accountability. The treaty proposes that the European parliament should have veto power over laws enshrining broad principles but be unable to block detailed legislation.

Serbian workers strike

Belgrade — In Yugoslavia's biggest strike since the second world war, more than 700,000 metal, textile and leather workers in the republic of Serbia downed tools over low wages and threatened to march on Belgrade should talks with the government fail to produce results (Dessa Trevisan writes).

As the country's economic and ethnic problems continue, labour unrest is affecting other sectors. Airline engineers, Bosnian miners and Slovene teachers have stopped work, and thousands of Serbian firms are facing bankruptcy because of high taxation.

Oil offensive

Rome — About 60 boats were working to contain and collect oil slicks from the tanker Haven that sank on Sunday. The oil is washing up on beaches west of Genoa.

Salvage delay

Rotterdam — A project to raise the sunken Soviet nuclear-powered submarine, Komсомолец, off Norway, has been postponed because Moscow cannot find the money, a Dutch salvage group said. (Reuters)

Museum reopens

Amsterdam — The Van Gogh museum has reopened here two days after 20 masterpieces by the 19th-century Impressionist were stolen and recovered minutes later in one of the world's shortest-lived art thefts. (Reuters)

Activists fined

Paris — A court here has ordered seven anti-rivisionist campaigners, including a veterinarian, to pay the equivalent of £34,000 in damages for stealing 17 baboons from a government research laboratory in 1985. (AFP)

Support grows for Ukraine miners

From ROBERT SEELY IN KIEV

THOUSANDS of factory workers in the Ukraine yesterday began an "indefinite strike" in support of the republic's miners, worsening the industrial unrest sweeping the Soviet Union. The workers demanded the removal of President Gorbachev and an end to Communist party rule.

"We want to live better. We want more pay and to close down the nuclear reactors, and for the Soviet president and government to resign," said a protester at a rally in Kiev's October Revolution square.

The sympathy strikes pose a fresh challenge to the governments in Kiev and Moscow, trying to prevent the unrest from spreading to other industries and republics. The miners in the Ukraine's Donbas region have now been on strike for seven weeks.

Yesterday, miners in Kunk, south of Moscow, went on strike for the first time. In Sverdlovsk, labour leaders called for a warning strike tomorrow in support of the miners. In Georgia, President Gamsakhurdia ordered government departments to support strikes undertaken last week by the Georgian leadership as part of its campaign to secure independence.

The Soviet parliament met in private for the second day yesterday to debate amendments to labour laws to punish politically motivated strikes. The latest strikes in the Ukraine affected industries in Kiev, Donetsk and Lvov. Sergei Melnik, the strike spokesman in Kiev, said: "It is developing into a republic-wide strike and we are united with the miners. We support their demands. We want the resignation of the Soviet president and an improvement in living standards."

Nikolai Kuryzhko, a delighted miners' leader, said: "We are not alone any more. Donetsk is the heart of the Ukraine's strike and we are now seeing the waves of support for us rippling out."

At a rally in Kiev, Yuri Arkhipchuk, a pit leader, said: "We have one enemy, the Communist party. We are not moved by material motives. Our aim is to take the government to task."

tourists flooding back into France after the Gulf war, the pickings for forgers could soon be rewarding enough to think about branching out into the 100 franc Delacroix, or even the humble 20 franc Debussy.

The French government's war on those who cannot face the world without blowing Gauloise smoke in other people's eyes will soon be extended by a law forbidding them to light up at work unless special areas are provided. Also in the sights of Claude Evin, the vigorous health minister, are public places — platforms in the Métro included — and, not before time, all schools, colleges and universities, where teachers are sometimes the worst offenders.

The minister clearly has the bit between his teeth, having recently "persuaded" the Chevignon group, designers of casual clothing for the young and chic, to drop a deal that allowed the state-owned cigarette

monopoly to use its name for a new brand. With M Evin's blessing, the anti-smoking lobby had already taken Chevignon to court for undermining the government's efforts to reduce the dismayingly high level of confirmed smokers among French teenagers.

It appears that the proposed legislation will also oblige restaurants to set aside non-smoking sections. If he could contrive to banish dogs from restaurants as well, M Evin would be well on the way to sainthood as far as I am concerned.

The French continue to reign unchanged as the most avid consumers of sleeping pills and tranquilisers. They each swallow three times as many as Americans, twice as many as the Germans; on average, every citizen buys 50 boxes of medicine a year from the chemist. *Le Monde* wondered whether life was so miserable that France had become a nation of "pharmacophiles".

PARIS NOTEBOOK by Philip Jacobson

Forgers reap a peace dividend

While French banknotes are altogether more pleasing to the eye than much paper currency — the drab British fiver cannot hold a candle to its handsome 50 franc counterpart — this does not make them any more proof against counterfeiters. Recently Paris police broke up a gang that had been using advanced laser-printing techniques to run off more or less perfect copies of the ornate larger denominations.

One raid turned up a cache of fake banknotes with a face value of around five million francs (£495,000). By a pleasing stroke, the masterminds involved were arrested in a bar on the rue de la Grande Truanderie, roughly "Street of Crooks". It appears they took particular pride in their version of the "Pascal", the 500-franc note bearing the image of the revered man of letters.

In Nice, quantities of high-grade counterfeit 200s (Comte de Montesquieu) have started circulating. With

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150-151

All the bad news that fits

Some human tragedies attract more press coverage than others. Melinda Wittstock reports on the reporting of suffering

Television pictures of starving Kurds scrambling for food have galvanised the British public into charitable action, in much the same way as did the first television pictures of the Ethiopian famine in 1984.

But despite the efforts of international relief agencies to bring the devastating famine in Sudan to the attention of the media during the past nine months, the regime's censorship laws have prevented cameras from covering the news, and there has consequently been little public reaction.

Now that Jonathan Dimbleby has persuaded the Sudanese regime to allow him unprecedented access to the suffering for an *Assignment* programme next Tuesday (7.30pm on BBC2), will the charities have better luck with Sudan?

"Assignment may have some impact, but nothing approaching the level of attention given the Ethiopians in 1984 and which is now focused on the Kurds," says Dr Philip Robins, the head of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA) study group on the media.

"It gets to the point where another famine in Africa becomes boring, people become desensitised to the suffering. The media don't cover it so much because it gets to the point where it ceases to be news; it is a constant," he says.

Often it is simply a matter of the news media's access to a country. When the Syrians slaughtered as many as 30,000 people in Hama in 1982, there was no significant coverage because the cameras were not let in. Strict censorship in Tibet, where as many as 1.2 million people have been killed since China's 1949 invasion, and in East Timor, where

another 200,000 have been murdered since Indonesia's 1975 invasion, have prevented either atrocity from significantly affecting the public's consciousness.

"It depends where the television cameras are," says Adam Kellest-Long, the international spokesman for the British Red Cross. "Western cameras were in northern Iraqi towns captured by the Kurds, and were in place to record the exodus once Saddam's army attacked. But no cameras were in the southern Iraqi towns of Najaf and Karbala to record the Shia revolt and resultant persecution." Meanwhile, most of the news media have left Kuwait to join the Kurdish bandwagon, leaving the fate of many Palestinian Kuwaitis accused of collaborating with Saddam unrecorded.

Heightened public awareness of the Gulf region as a result of the war pushed the plight of the Kurds to the top of the world agenda. Rupert Pennant-Rea, the editor of *The Economist*, said the only far-away conflicts that attract any media attention are those that involve a world power and have "ripple effects" in geopolitics or the international economy. "There was immeasurably more loss of life during the eight-year Iran-Iraq war, yet that war did not warrant one *Economist* cover. The second Gulf war ended up on the cover most weeks," Mr Pennant-Rea says.

"The personal involvement of the journalists who have fled Iraq together with the Kurds, experienced at first hand the roughness of the terrain and watched small children die, has led to a heightened sense of the enormous suffering of the Kurds," Dr Robins says.

But at what point do people reach



The news coverage is different, the anguish the same: (left) children in the Sudan, and (right) a Kurdish refugee

a stage of "compassion fatigue"? "Most big stories can hold the attention of the public for at least two to three weeks, unless the situation is constantly changing, and then much longer," says Mr Kellest-Long.

However, he adds, money continues to flood in to charities long

after the television cameras have stopped rolling. Charles Stewart-Smith, a senior producer of ITN's *News At Ten*, who is also a trustee of the Romanian Orphanage Trust, says donations are still arriving, more than a year after the pictures of maltreated Romanian children were shown.

"The public's response seems to depend on whether the problem is perceived as solvable or not," he says. "The Romanian problem can be solved, but there is a perception that the Sudanese famine cannot. It's difficult to know whether the Kurdish problem will ever be solved," he said.

Editors in a huff over puffs

Is it unethical for journalists to be paid by PR companies to place articles?

mission freelancers to place articles in its target vertical market press.

"If you think you can place a technology-related article in any of the attached, please give me a call," wrote Sheridan's London manager, Sarah Beech, enclosing a list of 91 "target end-user publications" ranging from the *Book-seller* to *ending International*. "Our fees for freelancers are in line with NUJ [National Union of Journalists] rates," she added.

Ms Beech says that an article placed at her suggestion by a freelance would have to mention the client computer company and preferably focus on one of its applications. "We are looking for third-party credibility. The whole purpose of it is to generate sales."

Ms Beech says she would not expect to talk to the editors, but envisages that a freelance who writes regularly for one of these publications would sound them out.

Ms Beech says she would never use this approach with national newspapers, and denies it is unethical. She also denies that the journalist would be paid by both the magazine and her company.

"One either does one or the other, never both; that is one of the golden rules," she says.

Roger Haywood, the president of the Institute of Public Relations (IPR), calls Sheridan's letter "unsatisfactory". He says that PRs have a right to talk to publications and submit articles, but that every-one concerned should know the full background.

Mr Haywood notes that the IPR's code of conduct bars members from any practice which tends to corrupt the

integrity of the media, a process which he defines as putting information into a communications channel promoting something without declaring the source.

Some of the magazines on the list were unhappy about being targeted. Michael Blandin, the deputy editor of *The Banker*, says: "We do not take puffs."

Mary Heaney, the features editor of *The Lawyer*, says the paper will be on watch. "If a freelance offers an article you don't think there is a PR behind it," she says.

BARBARA ELLIS

Cutback radio

ANY suggestions that LBC, the London talk radio station, is on the verge of collapse, have been strenuously denied by Crown Communications, its debt-ridden parent. LBC employees, locked in a battle with management over redundancies, have complained bitterly about Crown's policy of paying six-figure fees to personalities such as Angela Ripston, Michael Parkinson and Mike Carlton, the afternoon presenter, when the station is so far in the red. Such fees were justified by the Crown management as the best way of increasing audience reach, but the policy has had little effect so far. Carlton, a multimedia star in Australia, has so far managed to attract only 45,000 listeners each afternoon, according to Crown figures. Kevin Murphy, the news editor, says there is "much disquiet" at the station, particularly given reports of losses of £250,000 a month. A Crown spokesman denied the losses are that high and said the redundancies would ensure the station reaches break-even by September. Management and unions are meeting today with Acas, the conciliation body, to discuss the dispute over redundancies of both LBC and IRN employees.

Bad news

THE BBC's plan to shed 104 jobs and current affairs jobs this year as part of a plan to save £75 million a year by 1993, comes just days after Michael Checkland, the director-general, rejected as "totally unrealistic" union demands for a 21 per cent pay rise. New working conditions, under which 30 allowances will be scrapped in favour of an across-the-board 5 per cent pay rise, will be imposed on October 1. The BBC has



Checkland: rejected claim

denied the job cuts are linked to its proposed new working conditions.

Guardian anger

STAFF of *The Guardian*, which last year imposed a 12-month wage freeze, are to hold a strike ballot next Wednesday following the breakdown of conciliation talks last Friday between management, the union and Acas. Two years ago, *Guardian* employees came within ten minutes of strike action over a pay dispute.

Ads boost

CONSUMER magazines will be the fastest-growing medium next year, the Advertising Association has forecast. Advertising in consumer magazines will see a year-on-year real in-

crease of 12.3 per cent, compared with an overall increase of 8.7 per cent in the British advertising spend as a whole. The association forecasts that consumer magazines will account for more than £525 million.

FT reaches Sky-wards

SKY News has linked with the *Financial Times* to strengthen its business news reports. Sky, which already broadcasts its own *International Business Report* each weeknight, will tomorrow launch *Financial Times Business Weekly*. Produced by FTTV, which already sells its weekly programme throughout Europe, North America and Asia, the new programme will provide a "comprehensive" briefing on business issues, with comment and analysis from leading European industrialists, financiers, politicians and civil servants each Thursday night at 8.30, with a repeat on Sundays at 9.30am.

M.W.

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Spending more time with the family

The modern married executive puts spouse and children first. Victoria McKee discovers why the sacrifice of private life for promotion has become a bad career move

Last week *Time* magazine noted how many Americans were "rejecting the rat race to spend more time with their families" — citing as the most notable example of the trend the "retirement" of 46-year-old Peter Lynch, who "built the largest stock mutual fund in the country, worth \$13 billion" but felt he hardly knew his children. Now he has learnt how to pack school lunches. "The backyard", *Time* suggests, "now has more appeal than the boardroom".

This week the results of a British survey of executives in leading European companies showed that almost a quarter were considering leaving the boardroom to spend more time with their families. Professor Cary Cooper of the University of Manchester's Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST), who together with Valerie Sutherland, a lecturer in organisational psychology at the university, initiated and analysed the survey, conducted last year, of 118 chief executives (which included two women and 75 British men) says there has been a dramatic mood shift.

"I put the same questions to the 143 British chief executives who took part in a 1984 survey and then only 22 per cent said that the job interfering with family life was a problem. Now nearly 50 per cent of the British executives do."

Professor Cooper's study of European executives in 1984 found that most of them worked either "always" or "frequently" over the weekend — except for the Germans. "They worked less than anybody else at the weekend," had the most outside interests and yet their country was the most efficient," he says. "If an executive is a good time-manager he should be able to manage during a five-day week, and be brave enough to say, 'I can't function on less than six hours' sleep a night, and I need time with my family'."

"Forty-year-olds now want to spend more time with their families than those who set the pace in their fifties and sixties. They have seen too many older colleagues burnt out or having heart attacks, and they have a healthier attitude to work which is going to make their companies healthier."

The new attitude among chief executives of the baby boom generation is being echoed by their junior colleagues, those in their twenties who have been dubbed "the baby busters" by *Fortune* magazine and described as "nothing at all like the workaholic yuppies who preceded them". They "have been known to turn down big promotions or to acquire clout and then give it all up for leisure", reported the international business magazine, which called them "the employees who can afford to say No because the job-odds are in their favour" and "yuppies" — for "young, individualistic, freedom-minded, and few".

Fortune cautioned that "you might want to laugh derisively the first time one of your youngest subordinates tells you he intends to work a mere 40-hour week so he can go scuba diving and learn a non-Indo-European tongue. But don't complain, then, when you can't seem to find another competent molecular biologist or quality-control specialist."

'Holidays help me to come back to work able to do a better job'

In Britain Christopher Bain, a 29-year-old advertising copywriter with Park Advertising, exemplifies the new mood. "I spent the Eighties trying to further my own career, and then I began to ask 'Why am I doing this and who am I doing this for?' Mr Bain says. "Towards the end of the Eighties I began gearing everything towards retiring at the age of 50, and I started my first pension when I was 25. I know my priorities are totally different from my father's — and from my own ten years ago."

His father, Nigel Bain, the recently-retired head of communications with the Institute of Personnel Management, is amused at how much time his son manages to take off to play golf.

"I think there's a clash of culture with people of my father's generation," his son says. "Every day more redundancies are announced, so you have to be more intense about the time you spend at work — foot around less, have fewer long lunches — but you make more time for outside interests. And I don't have a single female friend who doesn't work



Christopher Bain (left) and Andrew Plume: "You have to be more intense about the time you spend at work but you make more time for outside interests," they say

full-time, so nobody has the sort of support that the men who were sole breadwinners, like my father, used to expect."

Andrew Plume, aged 25, who also works in advertising, decided he would retire at 40 "when I was still at school", he says. "Not necessarily retire, but take it easy — be open to new opportunities, such as travelling. Last year I took five holidays — I did a lot of skiing. I don't look on it as skiving. Holidays help me to come back to work able to do a better job."

Paula Shea, a former analyst with a stockbroking firm, wanted to "get out", she claims, before she was made redundant at the end of the Eighties. "I was fed up with 12 and 14-hour days," says Ms Shea, who started her own consultancy and found she was able "to see my friends, entertain, and do a course in advanced French, which I could not have done before."

Martin Duffell, aged 53 and the head of management recruitment for Unilever, entered into the new age spirit before it was fashionable. When he was in his early forties he took a 50 per cent salary cut and left his position as sales

controller of the multi-national company "to go to a job that didn't require a 55-60 hour week — as a sales manager in Devon". With the wholehearted support of his family, he did his M.Phil. part-time at Exeter university. Now, back in head office, he is working on a Ph.D. in comparative linguistics.

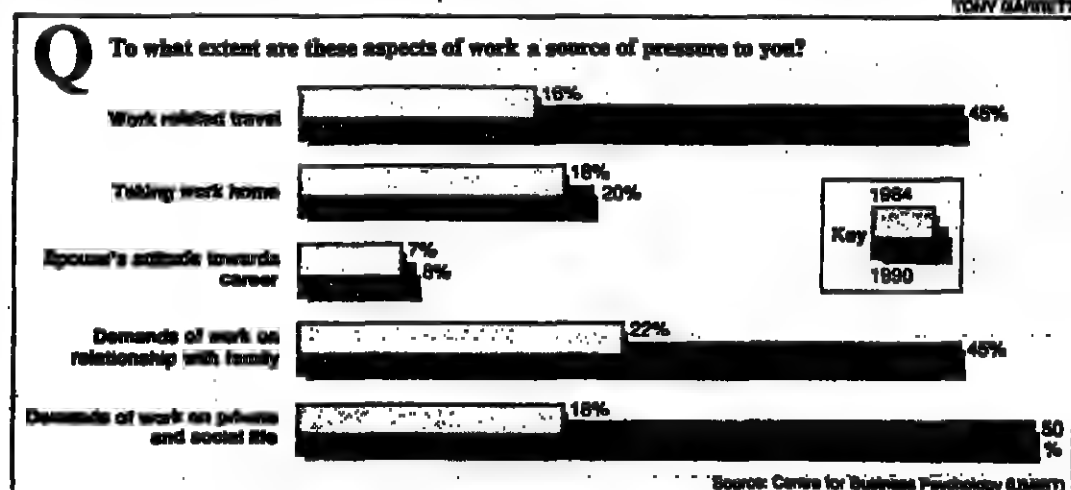
He says he will never go back to his old way of working. Amanda Walker, aged 33, a former chartered accountant who "fast-tracked" her way into a senior post with a large insurance company, says that her decision to have a baby may have reflected a changing perspective. "It's not

that I've become less ambitious," says Mrs Walker, who is now the financial development manager for Kent County Council. "I'm anxious to get a promotion — but I'm delighted to say my employer's attitude is that if you're committed and conscientious there's no need to work the sort

of ridiculously long hours I used to. They want people to be fresh." Christine McNulty, the managing director of Applied Futures, a British company which predicts social and corporate change, thinks there are two types of "inner-directed" people who are both at the leading edge of the future. "There are those who find work so enjoyable that they cannot separate it from leisure — and those who find fulfilment in activities outside their main job," she says. "We anticipate growth in both of these sorts of inner-directed over the next decade. One will never want to retire and the other will want to retire early because they have so many other interests to pursue."

"It is the workaholics who are motivated by money, power or security — that is, the 'outer-directed' or 'sustenance driven' work slaves — who are on the way out."

In America, Faith Popcorn, the "futurist" who coined the concept of "cocooning", has already predicted what will be the most valuable commodity in the Nineties: time.



Surveys in 1984 and 1990 show executives' changed attitude to pressures of work on their private lives

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A crash course in disaster

Volunteers singed their clothes and overacted shamelessly during a simulated catastrophe in Manchester

The Sunday before last I was lying in damp grass in the Bollin Valley with 10 per cent burns to my left arm, some minor facial cuts, my son similarly burnt and my husband dead, and surrounded by screaming people, wreckage and smoke. Our Boeing 737, flight LH999 from Frankfurt to Manchester, had collided with a light aircraft.

This crash was not reported in the press or on television, however. It was a simulated disaster, codenamed operation April Diamond. Manchester airport runs regular "disasters" to test its emergency response and the communication and coordination problems that can arise when several emergency services work together. Many people in Manchester have vivid memories of the 1985 British Airways disaster, when a Boeing 737 caught fire on the runway, killing 55 people.

The simulation started at 1pm but the organisation and planning had started weeks earlier. Mike Brunnett, the support services manager at Manchester airport, had been ordered to find 90 victims, and to keep the exercise confidential.

Victims had been asked to bring appropriately burnt clothing and told that we could choose which area of the body to have burnt but to "avoid hairy areas as these are difficult to make up". Not having a wardrobe which included burnt clothing, obviously a fashion craze I missed, I singed an old sweater on the left arm as I knew I would need my right "unburnt" to make notes.

Victims arrived to be made up and briefed at the Excelsior hotel, the most severely "injured" at 07.30. When I arrived, two hours later, I was approached by a seemingly horribly burnt man, whose face, hands and torso were glistening. He was quite jovial and discussed with his colleague, who had a nasty facial

gash, how best to make up my arm. Some foul-smelling spray was applied, then lumps of red putty-like substances, followed by dark brown boot polish for the charring effect. It was then sprayed again for a realistically moist look. I was told to come back later for my face make-up as it might "run" during the break.

Over coffee the imaginary injuries began to seem real. Some people even began to limp. I nudged someone, who winced with pain, and a man with a burnt hand asked me to put the sugar in his coffee.



Fine acting: emergency crews coordinate services and tend "victims"

Phil Baker, Manchester airport's duty manager, briefed us about the simulation. An old and slightly damaged learner aircraft, with victims inside, would be used. The exercise would start with an explosion preceded by a whistle, so we were told to cover our ears. Foam would be sprayed and a second explosion would occur. It would also be more realistic, we were told, if when we got into an ambulance we did not sit bolt upright and say, "That's that then", but carried on acting until arriving at the hospital.

On the way to the accident scene we passed tanned holidaymakers who looked startled to see five coaches of acting as observers and umpires, could tell people to die if help did not arrive fast enough.

I decided that lying down the bank with my head towards the river and left leg around a tree would give me the entry into films I had always wanted. We could hear the countdown and were all looking at our watches when the paraffin fire on the bridge was lit. Suddenly there was a loud explosion, a lot of smoke and people started screaming. Lying on the bank, now unable to move because of a severe cramp in my left leg, I watched my seven-year-old son cross the bridge shouting for his mummy and daddy.

injured people pass by as they waited for taxis. At the crash site we took up positions in the field on the far side of the river. The ground and trees around the wrecked aircraft were strewn with luggage and clothing.

With the exercise so close to starting there was an attack of nervous giggles. People practised moaning and screaming, but seemed self-conscious and shouted things such as: "Where's the rest of my pyjamas?" The area was also teeming with people taking photos and videos. Firemen,

This was definitely the boost I needed and I started shouting for my husband (one of those designated dead). It seemed ages before anyone came and then two firemen appeared and lifted me up. If that was caught on video, the cries of pain from the cramp were real.

I was taken to Whittington hospital, one of five on standby since the explosion. An enthusiastic ambulance crew member cut off not only the sleeve of my jumper but also that of my T-shirt, and my arm was wrapped in cold, wet bandages. I paled at the sight of an intravenous drip, but this was just taped on. I also had some oxygen, as I was still coughing from the smoke inhalation and from faking a cough for so long.

The arrival at the hospital went smoothly. A member of Smart (South Manchester Accident Rescue Team) took me to casualty, but I felt he was not taking the exercise too seriously when, instead of turning the wheelchair around, he asked me to kick the doors open.

As time passed more victims arrived, most in states of greater undress than last seen, as much burnt clothing had been cut away. When the exercise was over, we returned to the hotel for a meal, during which we swapped stories. One over-enthusiastic first-aid had put an airway down someone's throat.

The hard work may have ended for us when we were handed our souvenir sweat-shirts, but the analysis of the exercise will go on for weeks. There will be endless meetings, discussing photos, timing and comments and notes made by the umpires. Each emergency service will have to look carefully at its performance. What could we do better next time? And there will be a next time. Next year another practice, but maybe tomorrow the real thing.

LOUISE SMAL

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& BRIEFLY

BT wires uncrossed

TO EASE the shock of the new directory enquiry charges British Telecom decided to dispense additional directories for adjacent areas to customers shrewd enough to ask for them, as reported here last week. However, being inundated by requests has apparently made it necessary for more local phonebook managers to take a stricter line on giveaways. "While officially we only give one additional directory free of charge, if our local people in the goodness of their hearts want to do more we don't discourage it," says Bob Raggett, the deputy director of corporate relations for BT. "But each case is looked at individually." Phonebook managers are understandably tougher on London residents, who get as standard the regional set of three directories. Technically they are only able to request, free, an adjacent community book. But subscribers in outer London areas, who already get their community book, should know that they can also request an adjacent community book free, plus the entire London postal area set. BT points out that additional directories can also be purchased for £6 each, using the order form at the back of the phonebook.

Ms hit

THE April issue of the American magazine *Working Woman* reports on a study by the University of Toronto which would seem to indicate that whether you call yourself Ms, Mrs or Miss at work affects how others think of you. Women using Ms were seen by other professionals of both sexes as "motivated, responsible, competent, in charge". Women who opted for either of the others "were rated as warmer and more likeable but less managerial".

VICTORIA MCKEE

RECORDS: OPERA

Beyond musical dreams

Donizetti: Lucia di Lammermoor. Callas/di Stefano/Panerai. RIAS Symphony. Orch/Karajan. EMI CMS 7 636317 2 (2 CDs)
Verdi: La traviata. Callas/di Stefano/Bastanini. La Scala Orch/Giulini. EMI CMS 7 63628 2 (2 CDs)

SEPTEMBER 29, 1955, was quite a night at the Staatsoper in West Berlin. The Scala company was visiting and playing Lucia di Lammermoor. Herbert von Karajan conducted and Maria Callas took the title role. Fortunately a team of recording engineers had the wit to be on the spot too. The results have been commercially available for some time, but only now with the re-mastering of the tapes by EMI do the heights scaled that evening become clear.

Donizetti was never at the top of the list of Karajan's most favoured composers, but he treats Lucia as dark melodrama from the first baleful roll of drums. This is no piece of operatic frippery with the soprano going spectacularly bananas, but a tale of fell deeds in which practically all concerned come to nasty ends. The Scala did not bring its own orchestra, but for Karajan the RIAS Symphony play as if they had walked straight out of the Milan pit.

Karajan's greatest achievement, though, is to make his singers perform at their peak and even a bit above it. Giuseppe di Stefano as Edgardo, spurred on rather than daunted by the applause greeting Callas at the end of the Mad Scene, has rarely sung with more passion than in this



Callas: astonishing variety

final act where the tenor has to carry everything. Rolando Panerai, the Enrico, has a fine smart to his voice and gives the crucial confrontation with his sister, Lucia, unusual menace.

Then there is Callas herself. She recorded Lucia in the studios twice, both before and after the Berlin performance.

Neither has the emotional impact Karajan drew from her that September night, with her soprano carrying more colour of the vocal rainbow than Donizetti could ever have dreamed of. Earlier in that summer of 1955 another Callas performance had been recorded in the theatre for commercial issue: the opening night of La traviata in Luchino Visconti's production at La Scala. There are remarkable qualities in this Callas Visconti, notably the moral debate with Giorgio Germont in Act II and the sudden horror of approaching death at the close, but she was still making her way towards her final portrayal of Verdi's heroine. The remastered Traviata has its moments, but it cannot match the Lucia and patches of muddy and badly balanced sound, especially towards the close, have defeated the technical wizards.

JOHN HIGGINS



Singer Jim Morrison (Val Kilmer) imagines that an Indian spirit (Floyd Westerman) is present on stage during a performance in *The Doors*

CINEMA

A Door left slightly ajar

Oliver Stone's film *The Doors*, centred on Jim Morrison, opens next week. Steve Turner argues that for rock stars there may be life after death, but not before the cameras

The life of a rock star should be perfect material for a successful film. For one thing, it brings a ready-made audience: the age-group that buys records also fills cinema seats. Then there is the music, the sex, the glamour, the excess and, usually, a bit of violence.

Yet rock biopics are deadly affairs. They usually trace the predictable course from bedroom guitar twanging to tragic early death with maximum cliché and minimum character development.

Jim Morrison, for instance, singer with The Doors, is being sold to the educated classes as "a proponent of 'shamanism and mysticism'" by Oliver Stone, the director of *The Doors*. But in practice this means that, though Morrison stumbles from one odd idea of the film to the other in an easy way of spite and self-indulgence, there are supplementary cutaway shots of the covers of "meaningful" books and the faces of seers American Indians whose spirits the singer supposedly believed had possessed him.

Morrison's fraught relationship with his parents, which certainly had more to do with his bizarre morality than Indian spirits, is hinted at but not explored. That leaves Morrison as a two-dimensional, filthy-mouthed rock star who could not handle fame: just the sort of person our mums and dads always told us that rock stars were.

But the only question that can lock off a traditional rock

biopic is "Will Johnny get a recording contract and then have a hit single?" We already know the answer to that. The second and final question is, "Does Johnny have the moral fibre to resist the temptations that fame and fortune will inevitably bring?" We know the answer to that, too.

Overfamiliarity with the lives in question has already removed most of the surprise element. When, in *Great Balls of Fire*, Jerry Lee Lewis meets Elvis Presley's producer Sam Phillips, the audience knows that big things are about to happen. Likewise, in *The Doors*, when guitar player Robby Kreiger pulls from his pocket the lyric of a song he has written about lighting someone's fire, we do not chew our fingernails under the suspense of pondering its fate.

The biggest surprises in rock biopics are the incidents that almost certainly did not happen, such as the friction between Buddy Holly and his parents in *The Buddy Holly*

the Morrison biography *No One Here Gets Out Alive*, claims that when he read a shooting script of *The Doors* he was "appalled by the liberties Stone had taken with both character and chronology". Stone reportedly explained to him that as a filmmaker he needed to tell "small lies in order to reveal larger truths".

Roughly the same explanation was given by the director Luis Valdez after his portrayal of Ritchie Valens in *La Bamba* was condemned by the late singer's family. "You could do a documentary of Ritchie Valens' life," Valdez said by way of justification, "but that would not give you the real Ritchie."

The best rock biopic so far has been the one that looked most unlikely to succeed: Alex Cox's *Sid and Nancy*, which was based on the final days of the Sex Pistol, Sid Vicious, and his girlfriend Nancy Spungen. It seemed unlikely material not only because

Vicious was the least talented member of a very short-lived group but because he had not been dead long enough to become a fully fledged legend. But Cox did not use *Sid and Nancy* to promote the myth

of rock and rebellion or to catalogue the steps to stardom, but to study a relationship of mutual dependency and destruction. Vicious' life as a "rock star" was introduced only when it helped to make clear the main theme. That left the film blessedly free of such staples as excited agents offering deals and progress reports on chart positions. It is the absence of such a theme that spoils the chances of most rock biopics. The search for fame and the maintaining of a

Remember the observation made by Truman Capote when he was asked by Andy Warhol why he had been unable to write a commissioned feature for *Rolling Stone* magazine, after being sent on the Rolling Stones' 1972 tour of America. Capote had parted with Jagger and Richards, been granted backstage access and flown on the group's private jet, but he returned to New York uninspired. "It had no mystery to it," he explained. "It couldn't make my imagination expand into trying to find out something... Yes, there is material, but it's just that material. It doesn't have any echo. All that it is, is a little series of anecdotes that amounts to a form of gossip. Where is the meaning in that? Where is the art?"

Two weeks into the new financial year, the LBGC has been unable to agree its 1991-92 budget: this requires a two-thirds majority. The current LBGC is hung with 14 Tories, 14 Labour and four Liberal Democrats. As no party has ever controlled two-thirds of the London boroughs, a stalemate is almost inevitable.

Last year's total budget was £30 million, of which £3 million went to the arts. The problem this year is a disagreement over £1 million, the difference between the Labour

REVIEWS PAGE 20
Theatre, Rock and Musicals

ARTS FUNDING

Case for capital punishment?

Harry Eyres on an unknown committee that is diminishing London's cultural life

The future of many London arts organisations could be decided today by a little-known funding body, meeting to set a budget that puts arts funding at the bottom of its agenda. Few theatregoers may have heard of the London Boroughs Grants Committee (LBGC), yet it has the power to determine which theatres thrive. Within a year, the Almeida Theatre, the Photographers' Gallery, the London International Festival of Theatre, the London Film Festival, the King's Head Theatre Club and the Greenwich Theatre could disappear because the LBGC is no longer prepared, or able, to fund them.

The LBGC was set up in 1986 following the abolition of the Greater London Council, when the responsibility for arts funding in the capital was spread among the borough councils and two other bodies.

The larger part of the GLC's arts budget was routed via Greater London Arts, the body that administers the Arts Council's provision for the capital (at present £9.2 million). The LBGC, with all 32 London boroughs as members, was created as a mechanism for distributing the money allocated by borough councils to support London-wide voluntary organisations, such as shelters for the homeless, as well as supporting the arts.

This hastily stitched-together package held for four years. But now it is, according to LBGC director Gerald Oppenheim, "coming apart at the seams".

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Last year's total budget was £30 million, of which £3 million went to the arts. The problem this year is a disagreement over £1 million, the difference between the Labour

and Liberal Democrat proposal of £29 million and the Tories' proposal of £28 million.

While the two sides argue, voluntary organisations are issuing redundancy notices in the absence of funds which cannot be released until the budget is agreed.

However, it is cuts already agreed by the LBGC which have caused the present trouble. The Almeida Theatre, one of the most successful fringe venues in London, has lost its entire grant (£52,812 last year). Jonathan Kent, Almeida co-director, says the theatre's future now is in doubt, the victim of what he calls "local political infighting". The Greenwich Theatre has also lost its LBGC grant, expected to be around £45,000. The London International Festival of Theatre (LIFT), which starts in June, will be the last one supported by the LBGC, which provides 35 per cent of LIFT's funding.

Serge Lourie, the Liberal chairman of the LBGC, says: "Clearly the arts will come under threat in the budget. We are dealing with poverty at the extreme end of the scale and there is not enough money for that. We have tried hard to preserve the arts but there simply isn't enough money."

In the individual London boroughs, many arts projects are fighting for their lives. Haringey Council recently cut its arts budget; Wandsworth has withdrawn its support for the Tam Arts Group, one of the foremost ethnic theatre companies in London. Yet charge-capped authorities such as Brent, Greenwich and Hackney have managed to increase arts funding.

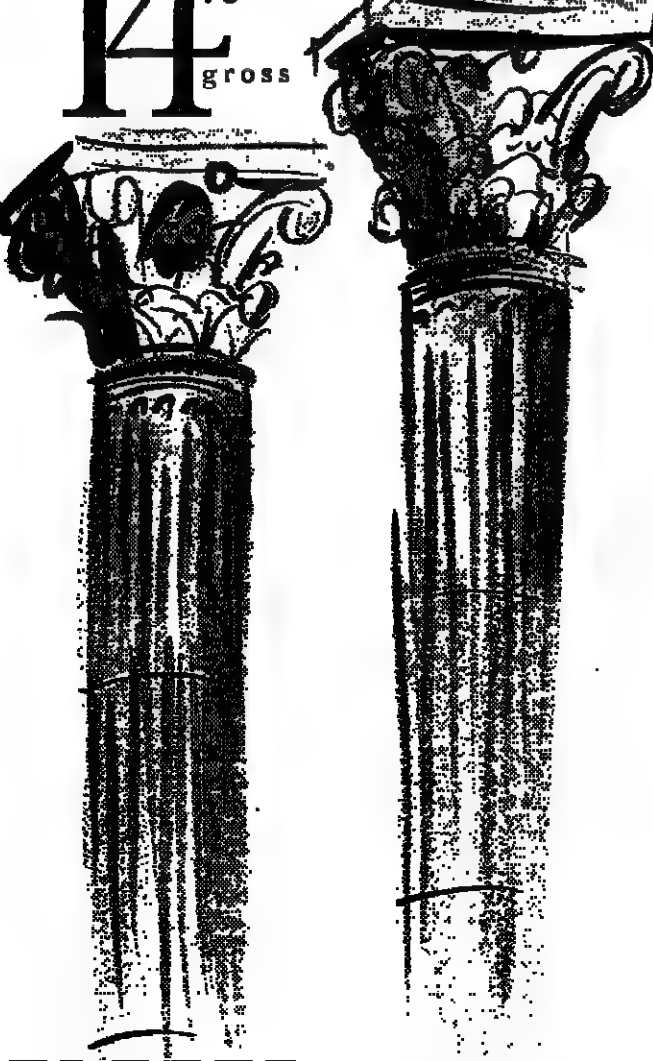
At a local level, the arts are at the bottom of the heap. If a theatre is perceived as competing for funds with meals-on-wheels, it will lose every time.

How can this be changed? One answer is the restoration of a single authority for London's arts funding, and with that, a politician who can take on the responsibility for London's needs.

One answer is the restoration of a single authority

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BRIEFING
Uncle Lear

RICHARD Briers is clearly determined to expunge memories of his carefree days playing the comic chump in *The Good Life*. He is embarked on a series of heavyweight classic roles with the Renaissance Theatre Company; last year's *King Lear* is to be followed by the title role in Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya*. The production begins a nine-week tour in Belfast on June 11, coming to the Lyric Hammersmith for a three-week season from August 12. But Briers will not entirely shake off his television past: his director and co-star in *Uncle Vanya* is Peter Egan, last seen with Briers in BBC 1's *Ever Decreasing Circles*.

Helping hands

AMONG the many delights being exhibited in Art London 91 at Olympia this week will be the first fruits of a National Art Collections Fund scheme to encourage museums and galleries to buy contemporary works. Under the scheme, museums and galleries choose works costing under £10,000. If the choice is accepted, the NACF funds 50 per cent of the price from its modern art fund, that was set up two years ago and is now worth £350,000, and a further 15 per cent comes from the Barings Foundation (the sponsor of the scheme) and public contributions. So far seven works have been bought, including sculptures by Bernard Meadows and Andy Goldsworthy and paintings by David Hockney and Lee Tabner.

Last chance...

KRISTINE Ciesinski gives a brave, startling, vocally full-frontal performance as *Salome* in Joachim Herz's fine English National Opera production of the Strauss-Wilde opera, where the drama is played out in an arena under the gaze of a colourfully decadent Herodian court. With Richard Armstrong in charge in the pit, this is one of the most exciting revivals this season. Final performance at the Coliseum (071-836 3161) on Friday.

Mary Ann Sieghart warns the prime minister against paranoia over *Panorama*

Major should be proud, not piqued

Some people, when reading political biographies, jump straight to the chapter chronicling a politician's entry into Parliament. They see no reason to wade through the early days: parents, school, university.

More fools they. Nothing is more revealing than a public figure's childhood. "The childhood shows the man. As morning shows the day," wrote Milton. Yet Conservative critics of the BBC *Panorama* programme about John Major on Monday night act as if the journalists concerned had no right to investigate the prime minister's past.

Some aspects of anybody's private life should stay out of the public domain. Children of public figures should be left alone; they did not choose their parents. Politicians' sex lives should be their own business, providing they are within the law, and are neither prey to blackmail nor indulging in blatant hypocrisy proclaiming the virtues of family values in the House of Commons chamber, perhaps, while conducting an extra-marital affair with a researcher next door.

But people's upbringing is bound to play a critical role in the formation of their values and beliefs. Margaret Thatcher never

ceased to boast of the influence of hers. (Yet, significantly, she left her mother out of her *Who's Who* entry.) Being a grocer's daughter taught her the merits of good housekeeping, the uprightness of her father, Alderman Roberts, left her with a conviction of the importance of probity in public life.

Edward Heath, by contrast, seemed resolved to reject his past. He spent most of his adolescence and early adulthood constructing a new, establishment personality. Thereafter, he rarely spoke about his origins. While Mrs Thatcher was proud not to have joined the establishment, Mr Heath must have seen his humble background as an obstacle to doing so.

Why then is John Major so concerned to keep his early life private? Unlike Mr Heath, he shows no signs of wanting to pretend to belong to a different class. He has not changed his accent or bought a Georgian

house. Indeed, he made great play during the Conservative leadership campaign of his classlessness, by which he meant that he, unlike his opponents, had known poverty and underprivilege. To that extent, he has made his own childhood a political issue.

Anthony Storr, the psychiatrist, found in Winston Churchill's childhood many clues to the politician that he became. In his book of essays, *Churchill's Black Dog and Other Phenomena of the Human Mind*, he writes: "Churchill, in spite of his aristocratic birth and social position, started life with disadvantages which he never wholly conquered, although his whole career was an effort to overcome them. Without these disadvantages he would have been a happier, more ordinary, better-balanced, and less human being. But had he been a stable and equitable man, he could never have inspired the nation."

Dr Storr traces Churchill's am-



Academic failure who could have been a drop-out, but succeeded by his own resolve

bition back to emotional deprivation in childhood, and his physical courage back to a determination to compensate for his early pininess. But Churchill at least had the self-esteem that followed almost automatically from his pedigree. As Martin Gilbert's new biography points out, Churchill had the confidence to enjoy painting him-

self as more of a failure at school than he actually had been.

Mr Major, by contrast, seems to be so ashamed of his academic career that he rang his school to ask that its records on him be kept secret. What does he have to hide? If he either took no O levels there, or failed the ones he took, having later made up for this through correspondence courses can only reflect well on him. Assuming that he has nothing really damaging to hide — such as cheating — his oversensitivity about his teenage years must be a reflection of how painful those memories still are.

It is bad enough for four adults to be crammed into two rooms in Brixton with a lavatory three floors down and a stove on the landing. It must have been worse for Mr Major to experience such poverty when he had been used to a comfortable, suburban life. Add to that a bedridden and seriously ill father in one of the two rooms,

and it is not surprising that the young John Major was difficult and unenthusiastic at school.

When he subsequently spent nine months on the dole, failing even to win a job as a bus conductor, he must have thought that he was continuing the decline started by the collapse of his father's business. Yet his success in pulling himself together, combining a banking job with study in the evenings, makes him an infinitely more interesting and impressive character than those of his colleagues who sailed through Oxon and Oxford.

Both his abhorrence of racism and his compassion for the underprivileged can be traced back to these days. Brixton then, as now, was a magnet for Commonwealth immigrants. Mr Major grew up alongside them. Mrs Thatcher was proud of managing to escape from Grantham and achieve her ambitions, and impatient of those who failed to do so. Mr Major, by

contrast, empathises with those who sink into unemployment or poverty and feel unable to lever themselves out.

The only potentially damaging ingredient in the *Panorama* programme was the suggestion that Mr Major was not living in Lambeth when he was elected councillor in what he thought was an unwinnable seat (though he moved there within weeks of his victory). The prime minister yesterday denied that this was true.

The BBC's evidence was not strong. And if a team of investigators, raking over Mr Major's life, could come up with no worse an allegation than this, a relatively trivial transgression that happened (if it did) a quarter of a century ago, both the prime minister and his party need not fear. In fact, it is time they both grew another layer of skin.

What the programme exposed was a man who could have declined into an unemployed depressive living on the margins of society. Instead he has the most powerful job in the land and is living in Downing Street. To have overcome adversity in such a remarkable way must surely be a better qualification for becoming prime minister than any number of O levels.

Keeping prices under the roof

Martin Jacques

There is something absurd and irrational about a housing market organised like a rollercoaster. The damaging house price frenzy of 1987-8 looms large in the collective memory. Yet despite the fall in interest rates, a new price surge seems unlikely, not least because there is an enormous backlog of property on the market.

We do not want another surge. In the 1980s, rising prices persuaded many council tenants to buy their homes. But the price slump at the end of the decade vividly revealed the drawbacks of home ownership: many people who bought just before the fall now find themselves with property worth less than their mortgages. For more than two years it has been extremely difficult to move house, especially in the south. High prices and high interest rates together have seen some young homeowners spending half their incomes on housing.

The problem is not only one of personal misfortune. There are also powerful macro-economic arguments about the adverse effects of chaos in the housing market on the economy. With financial deregulation, many people used their houses to get their hands on money, which was then spent on consumer goods rather than house purchases. An explosion of credit resulted.

But the negative effects of the state of the housing market extend still further. The difference in house prices between north and south restricts labour mobility, so perpetuating regional differences. The demand for mortgages also pushes up interest rates, thus starving industry of capital.

The trade unions were widely held to be responsible for the inflation of the 1970s. So they became a suitable case for political treatment in the 1980s. Could it be that with housing-linked asset-inflation as the main engine of inflation in the late 1980s, a similar fate will befall the housing market in the 1990s?

The parallels are beguiling. Trade unionists then numbered over 10 million; there are now 15 million owner-occupied households. Trade unions were regarded

as untouchable, so now are homeowners. Reform of the unions had a profound impact on the state of the labour market; reform of the housing market would have an even bigger effect on the economy.

There is one difference. The argument against the unions was well-rehearsed before Mrs Thatcher came to power, but outside intellectual circles, there has been very little argument against mortgage tax-relief and the whole question of home-ownership.

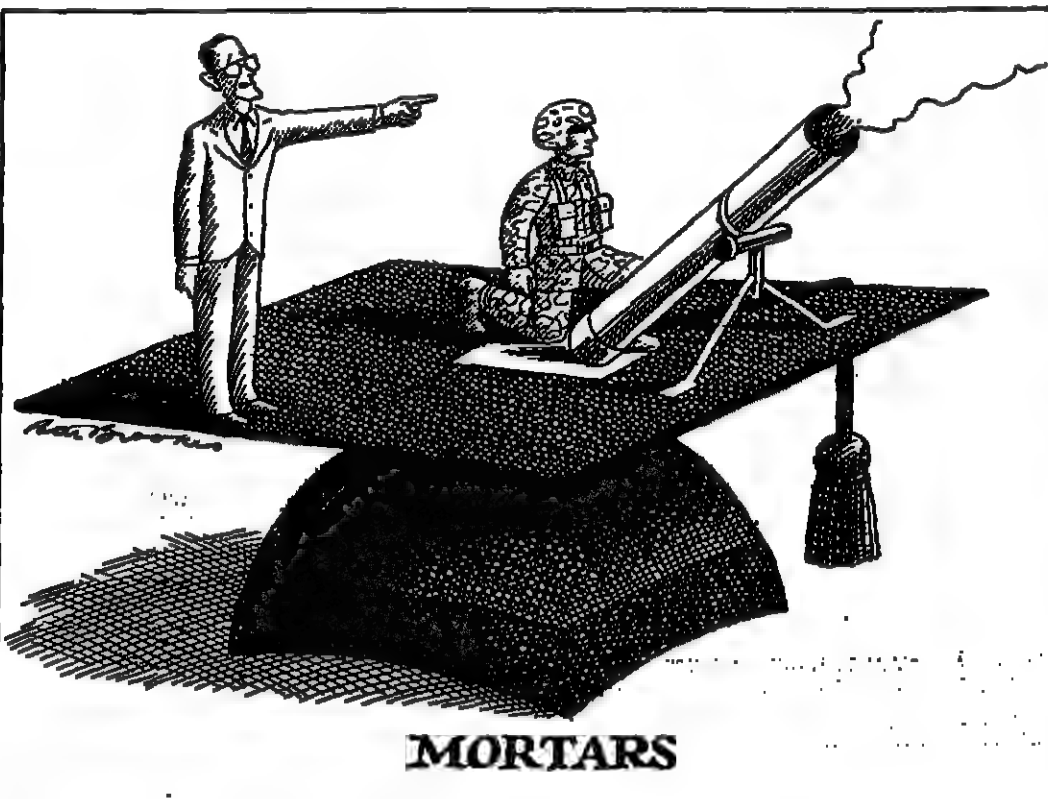
So what chance is there of reform? In his budget speech, Norman Lamont inveighed against the inequities of a house-price spiral, and declared an end to mortgage relief for higher-rate taxpayers. Robin Leigh-Pemberton, the governor of the Bank of England, recently aired the possibility of credit controls on mortgage lending. And it is worth remembering that, if the ceiling on mortgage relief had risen as fast as inflation since its introduction in 1974, it would now be £125,000, not £30,000. These are small but encouraging signs. Britain's membership of the exchange-rate mechanism will also help: this external constraint will oblige us to introduce stringent restrictions on lending.

But full-blooded reform of the housing market is what is really required. Mortgage relief should be limited to ten years or less, and mortgages should be advanced only against a large down-payment. Meanwhile, the rented sector needs encouragement. Given the variety of people's needs at different stages of their lives, it is absurd that we have only one really robust form of tenure. On yet another issue we are the odd man out in Europe.

The obstacles to change are formidable. Homeowners are a large and powerful interest group. The Conservative party has made the home-ownership central to its appeal since the 1950s. Much of Mrs Thatcher's political success was built on the foundations of the popular sale of council houses. But that era has ended. It is time to treat houses rationally, despite the ancient appeal to the Englishman of his castle. Which party will tackle the problem?

Bush, classroom warrior

Peter Stothard, US editor, reports on a new crusade to rout the ignorance endemic in American schools



MORTARS

When President Bush wanted to appear close to the American people after the liberation of Kuwait, he proudly reminded them that they had been ready to sacrifice their lives for a country of whose whereabouts and very existence most had previously known nothing. Unwittingly he had hit upon the object of his next war — to be announced to the country tomorrow.

The first three crusades of the Bush administration were against drugs, General Noriega and then Saddam Hussein. Now he is launching "the fourth crusade", against American ignorance. Conscious of the chronic failure of America's schools, and that predecessors have tried in vain to bring about improvement, Mr Bush will propose experiments and practical changes which he hopes will transform America's ability to learn. It is a crusade against the worst characteristics of his country: self-indulgence, contempt for the past and complacent tolerance of mediocrity.

Mr Bush is no natural leader in this struggle. He is an optimist who sees the greatness of America as both a justification for its failings and a guarantee that success will continue. But he has also been persuaded that in this case his optimism may be misplaced, and that the sense of national pride following the Gulf victory cannot be better used than in improving the nation's neglected minds. While Washington has looked on cynically, Mr Bush has promoted an impressive new team at his education department and let it be known that he listens to what it has to say.

The education crusade is to be led by Lamar Alexander, who pioneered education reform when governor of Tennessee in the early 1980s. To help him, Mr Alexander has recruited the chief executive of Xerox, David Kearns, and the historian Diane Ravitch. Mr Bush says he wants education to be at the forefront of his re-election campaign, and has charged his chief of staff, John Sununu, with knocking heads together to make it possible.

Within a few weeks Mr Alexander's department had presented the White House with a plan of several hundred pages — echoing recent educational reforms in Britain — to expand parental choice and impose

national standards. He also commissioned research on what is essential to a school and which elements are mere trappings.

Mr Alexander is seen as the vanguard of the effort to translate the success of the operations against Iraq to the home front. If the lessons of Operation Desert Storm can be applied to lessons in the classroom, the potential rewards are higher than from any desert escapade. But what are the lessons? Are they the importance, as traditionalists hope, of clear central command and massive budgets? Or are they rather, as radical White House aide James Pinkerton argues, the lessons of self-analysis, recognition of past failure, the importance of reward for achievement and of a system in which people feel and accept responsibility for their own fate and the fate of those around them?

The answer will not be a simple one. The campaign will have little

long-term benefit unless its leaders are prepared to confront some of the most deeply entrenched interests in the nation. It is appropriate (though hardly sufficient) that Mr Alexander has at his side an experienced business executive and a respected historian, for the dramatic failures of American education — scientific illiteracy, guns and drugs in the desks and the rejection of Aristotle and Shakespeare as Dweems (Dead White European Males) — stem from a deadly mixture of perverted politics, misunderstood philosophy and incompetent administration.

Diane Ravitch argues that change must begin with educational philosophy. The nation's first modern guru, John Dewey, whose 93-year life extended from the civil war to the Korean war, successfully preached an end to the rote-learning and strict discipline of traditional European-style

education. Although Dewey believed that the level of culture would rise if access to it were easier, his disciples have tended to emphasise accessibility more than the culture: the schooling that appears to suit the child as an individual rather than as a full member of society. As a broad political creed, progressivism died in the first world war. But in education it lived on, succoured by racial politics, which also emphasised accessibility more than standards.

The launch of the Sputnik in the late 1950s gave America a shock. Was the Soviet Union gaining a scientific — and therefore an educational — lead? President Eisenhower began an educational crusade, but it consisted mainly of more money for the existing system.

Since the 1960s, despite thousands of outraged speeches, acres of congressional analysis and sales

of millions for conservative educational works such as Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind*, the national educational philosophy has continued to attempt social reform, not the spread of knowledge.

The political battles against racially segregated education have largely been won, but liberal politicians, backed by voters, prefer the search for still greater equality to the task of ensuring that public education is something in which it is worth having an equal stake. Great administrative sorides have been made in transferring funds from rich areas to poor, but most administrators would rather put more money on the bureaucratic roundabout than consider whether the roundabout is worth riding. There is no quick fix.

Most of the reforms that Mr Bush will promote and praise this week were tried during the Eighties. Every state in the union made substantial changes to its schools, including better testing, tougher exams, salaries based on merit and improved parental choice. The funding for education, of which only 6 per cent comes from the centre, is 30 per cent higher in real terms than a decade ago. Yet the measured results of pupils are no better, and against the rising standard of international competitors, American children are falling fast. Some schools, driven by the demand of parents and employers, are models of excellence, but overall American children do less homework and study fewer languages. The world is shrinking, but their insularity and ignorance of it increases.

The progressive educational philosophy is so entrenched that it prevents politicians from insisting successfully on higher standards, and stops able administrators ensuring that those standards are achieved.

America has deluded itself that it can hold together as a unified democratic country only if it includes as many children as possible in education without regard to the standard of study. Unless the counter-argument is heard from the president — that successful democracy requires the highest possible level of predominantly shared culture — the fourth crusade is unlikely to survive beyond the 1992 election.

...and moreover

CRAIG BROWN

Now that the Conservative party is less of a party than a loose federation of opposing factions, it is as well to keep up with the various groups of which it consists. The No Taxation Black Group is formed of a close-knit gang of hard-right MPs opposed to the selection of Mr John Taylor as candidate for Cheltenham. Some are drawn from...

The Young Conservatives, a wide-eyed, deadly serious, short-haired group whose members are most easily identified by their striking facial resemblance to presidential assassins. The Young Conservatives are themselves divided into two factions: on the one hand, the Extremely Sinister Sticking-Out-Eared Young Conservatives, and on the other, the Perfectly Pleasant If Slightly Stupid Tweedy Young Conservatives (now almost defunct). Some enthusiastic members graduate to...

EHC is a severe opponent of... The Conservative Way Backward Group, comprising Nicholas Ridley, Lord Joseph, Cecil Parkinson and other go-ahead young whizz-kids, among them Fred Flintstone, MP for Bedford, and Lord Rip of Van Winkle. "We must drag Britain kicking and screaming into the 1980s," says Mr Parkinson, who also belongs to...

The Conservative Backbench Standing Committee, whose members (among them Teresa Gorman, Emma Nicholson, Anthony Beaumont-Dark and Nicholas Winterdon) have dedicated themselves to standing for hours at a time on Westminster Green waiting to buttonhole any stray television crew that may be passing and to say, "Let me start by making one thing absolutely... Some of the more vociferous members also belong to...

The Thatcher Foundation, a strictly non-political charity set up to promote those of Mrs Thatcher's ideas that are strictly non-political. Teams of researchers are said to be making good progress, and are expected to discover a non-political Thatcher idea within the next few years. The Thatcher Foundation is unaffected to...

establish their innocence before being found guilty. It is not known if there is any membership overlap with...

Jeffrey Archer's Close Friends, a secret society whose membership is claimed by the founder and president (J. Archer) to number millions, among them the prime minister and Mrs Thatcher, the Queen, President Bush, Pinnocchio and the Massed Bands of the Royal Marines. However, the group seems so adept at keeping its membership secret that, in ten years, not a single one has been formally identified. Some experts suggest, in fact, that the membership is roughly equal to that of...

The Oweables, a band of people, all of whom resemble ageing versions of the former-former foreign secretary, who are willing at the drop of a hat to go to television studios to offer their considered advice to the prime minister. Mr Owen's forthcoming endorsement of John Major is expected to bring this government the same swing in popularity as he earlier brought to the SDP. The remaining faction is...

The Cabinet, a largely discredited faction of disaffected Thatcherites whose influence within the party is now said to be minimal. Rumours have spread that the prime minister is a member, but he refuses to be driven into a corner on this

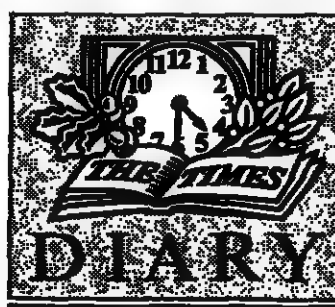
Keane set for a killing

The total benefit to the nation of the efforts of John Keane, Britain's official war artist in the Gulf, may be just one canvas for the Imperial War Museum's collection. The rest of his oeuvre, following his month's stay in the Gulf as the guest of the defence ministry, will go on sale to the public after an initial three-month show at the museum. All proceeds — and they are likely to be considerable — will go to Keane.

The Imperial War Museum says that although it arranged Keane's trip, it cannot afford to buy the rest of his work. Angela Weight, keeper of art, says: "We don't have the money. Prices have increased considerably since 1982, when we commissioned Linda Kinton to go to the Falklands." Kinton produced 60 images for the Imperial War Museum and 30 more for its sister museum in Yeovilton. "But Linda's work consists of a lot of sketches done on the spot. A worked oil canvas is quite different," says Weight.

Keane, who has just started work in his Hackney studio, has not yet decided what to offer the museum. It is paying him £10,000, but he puts a £12,500 price tag on the 8ft Kinton has in mind. Alternatively he may offer two or three smaller paintings to the same value. "The museum is getting a discount," he insists.

The amount he makes will depend, of course, on the number of paintings he eventually produces. He rejects suggestions that there is something unseemly about



What a pity Noel Coward is no longer around to pay tribute to Sir David Lean. It was he who discovered Lean when making *In Which We Serve*, the second world war epic based on the sinking of HMS *Kelly*. Finding it hard to direct as well as play the lead role, Coward handed a camera to Lean, then a little-known film editor, and said: "You direct and I'll get on with the acting." The result was not only a highly acclaimed film but Coward's first and only Oscar.

Stalls or backbench?

If the speculation about the likely date of the next general election seems to have left unperturbed at least one budding politician, Glenda Jackson, Labour candidate in marginal Hamstead and Highgate, has just agreed to appear this autumn in a West End revival of *Enid Bagnold's* elegant comedy of manners, *The Chalk Garden*. Reviews will occupy her right through October, which both Tory and Labour headquarters consider the most likely election month. The production is due to open in November, just when Jackson — who is currently appearing in

will be in 1992," says her agent, Penny Taylor, "so she has agreed in principle to do the play." All of which leaves the actress, who has said she will give up acting if elected, with a potential conflict of loyalties. "It is a huge problem. There will have to be another star, not just an understudy, standing by," says Taylor.



Above average

The fascination with John Major's school record cuts little ice with the headmaster of his alma mater. "It's a storm in a teacup," says Tony Mooney, headmaster of Rutish School in Wimbledon. "I'm not saying educational qualifications don't matter, but they don't matter with John Major. His qualifications as prime minister are what he has achieved since school."

— and agreed — to suppress the records.

The headmaster will not, however, be instigating a mole-hunt. "There is no evidence to suggest there has been a leak, so there won't be an enquiry," he says firmly. In any case, Mooney has more important things on his mind, such as preparing for the new cricket season. And in that field, at least, the prime minister is happy for the world to know of his Rutish accomplishments. The man who says he cannot remember how many O-levels he passed vividly remembers some school-boy bowling figures. "Seven for nine, including a hat-trick, against Royal Masomic," he proudly told his biographer, Edward Pearce.

Shuttlecock

The Badminton Cabinet has finally found a home, albeit a temporary one, at the Tate Gallery. Plucked from the dusty obscurity of a Christie's showroom, the £8.5 million cabinet goes on show at the gallery from 10am today. "The cabinet is a great British commission and very suitable for the Tate," says a spokesman — although he admits that the Tate has no other furniture on show. The move provides a second chance for a public display, after an earlier appearance at the British Museum, before the May 17 deadline when the government is due to decide whether or not to grant an export licence.

The cut-price opera productions suggested in this column last week have produced a rash of helpful ideas from readers. If Jeremy Isaacs is looking for budget reduc-



BEASTLY TO BE BOURGEOIS

Yesterday was not a good one for the British middle class as a twin-edged sword of Damocles was hoisted above its head. Labour's policy statement *Opportunity Britain* has confirmed its 1989 proposal that the well-off will pay a top tax-rate of 59 per cent, instead of the present 40 per cent. There will also be a surcharge on the so-called unearned incomes of non-pensioners in excess of £3,000 per year. Tax relief on pension contributions is also to be restricted to the basic rate of tax.

While Labour is stirring this brew, Tory ministers yesterday approved a proposal to go to cabinet on Thursday to scrap the flat-rate poll tax and load all local taxation onto a tax based on property values. After a budget that finally abandoned higher-rate mortgage interest relief, clobbered the company car and punished the portable phone, fear stalks Surbiton while Wilmslow trembles. A new age is clearly dawning, under either of the two big parties, and it is not bourgeois-friendly.

Nobody can calculate precisely how grave the threat is. After the leaks, the government has gone tight-lipped about its poll-tax proposals. It has been moving towards a property tax, shorn of most of the "people elements" that justified the accusation that this was the "son of" poll tax. Clearly this will bear more heavily on those with property, and more heavily on those with plenty of it. Labour's proposals are still vague. They comprise several elements: a starting rate of tax below 20 per cent, a series of tax bands at higher rates above that, changes to personal allowances and the abolition of the upper earnings limit (beyond which national insurance contributions do not increase with income). The party coyly refused yesterday to quantify any of these. The declared reason was that the new Labour Chancellor should decide. The reality was the political fear of alienating the electoral middle ground. Labour has tried to reassure middle-class voters by promising that no individual earning less than £20,000

a year would be worse off. But Mr. Kinlock should know that £20,000 a year is now precisely what the average male white-collar worker earns. The new tax on unearned incomes will bite on those whose savings amount to as little as £30,000. The proposed changes cannot be presented as an impost only on plutocrats.

Neither development merits a middle-class panic. They would follow more than a decade that has been unambiguously good to the better-off. Top tax rates have been halved and most middle-class salaries are higher in real terms. The recent budget saw a shift towards higher taxes on expenditure and on the inert wealth of property. These are more easily justified than higher income taxes, and appear to be central to the present government's philosophy.

This time there is no Labour Denis Healey threatening to squeeze the rich until the pips squeak. The top rate of tax will plainly not return to the 83 per cent at which it stood in 1978-79, even if Labour wins. That said, higher income taxes are dangerous ground for Labour. If the party wishes to merge income tax and national insurance, for which there is a strong case, it should say so clearly. This means higher marginal rates of tax for many target voters. It can expect the Tories to take full advantage of this opening.

That said, the middle classes need not feel too gloomy. The fear that seized them in the 1960s and 1970s reflected less their material suffering than a feeling that their qualities were not esteemed. Now both main parties salute opportunity, both embrace the entrepreneur and both are concerned with wealth creation. Labour is marginally less well disposed towards the better-off than are the Conservatives. But the fiscal similarities between the two parties are more remarkable than the differences. The fate of whole sections of society no longer hangs on the result of the general election. For that at least, the middle classes should be duly grateful.

REALMS AND ISLANDS

The success of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan this week, the first ever by a Soviet head of state, turns on Tokyo's claim to four rocky islands that have been in Soviet hands since 1945. The Japanese say that their "northern territories" — Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and the Habomai group — are legally distinct from the rest of the Kuriles, an archipelago stretching north-east from the large Japanese island of Hokkaido to the Russian peninsula of Kamchatka. The ceded Japanese islands want to return; the Russian settlers wish to stay Russian.

The disputed islands' strategic value to Moscow is great. Their symbolic value to Tokyo is still greater. Yesterday Mr. Gorbachev dismissed speculation that he would swap the islands for economic aid. What he has in mind is a mystery, but it may be significant that he has a delegation from Boris Yeltsin's Russian Federation with him. Mr. Yeltsin said this week that he might not endorse the exchange of the four disputed islands for an investment and credit package said to be worth \$28 billion. It is clear that Mr. Gorbachev must take care. In return for ceding the islands, the Soviet leader would need to reassure the Russian inhabitants that they could stay or be compensated. Russian nationalism is now a factor in Soviet policy.

Japanese suspicions of the Soviet government are also an obstacle to a deal. The dispute over the Kuriles is an old one. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 gave half of the neighbouring island of Sakhalin and all the Kuriles to Japan. But the Russians took revenge in 1945. The ill-treatment of 600,000 Japanese prisoners in Siberia is a bitter memory, though the survivors were returned in 1956 when relations improved under Khrushchev and Hatoyama. At that time the Kremlin offered to return two of the disputed islands as a final settlement, but

Japan's ruling Liberal Democrats refused to countenance half-measures. Neither the party nor its views have changed in the intervening 35 years.

On the Soviet side, all is in flux; hence the Japanese reluctance to trade with and invest in the Soviet Union. Since the early 1930s, Japanese-Soviet trade has remained constant at about 1 per cent of Japan's overseas trade. Any offer to the Soviet Union must depend on Japanese business. The private sector would have to supply the bulk of the investment in eastern Siberia which enthusiasts for the Kuriles deal envisage.

But Japanese businessmen are more sceptical even than those in Europe and America about Soviet economic prospects. In Japan, Mr. Gorbachev lacks the nimbus of greatness with which Europeans have invested him. The cold war has not ended in the Pacific: the Soviet-occupied islands, bristling with military hardware, are closer to Japan than Dover is to Calais.

Both leaders would nonetheless relish a breakthrough. Mr. Gorbachev needs goods on Moscow's shelves. Mr. Kaifu, the Japanese prime minister, is under resignation pressure from Liberal Democrat god-fathers. Both are men in a hurry. But Mr. Kaifu cannot drag his countrymen into a deal. Neither Japan nor Russia will gain from a hasty exchange of islands for investment, as long as the weight of communist bureaucracy continues to stifle initiative. Japan can afford to wait until the present Soviet leadership is replaced.

If he returns home empty-handed, Mr. Gorbachev should use Japanese scepticism of present Soviet policy to persuade his colleagues to co-operate with Mr. Yeltsin to turn Siberia into a free enterprise zone. Unfortunately for Siberia, the Soviet president will almost certainly do no such thing.

NATURE KNOWS BEST

The failure of Alaskan bald eagles to lay their annual clutch of eggs in 1989 was widely declared to be one of the environment-damaging consequences of the Exxon Valdez oil spill. But what had disturbed their mating pattern was not the 35,000 tons of oil which had spilled from the broken tanker, but the influx of 9,000 workers engaged in the multi-million dollar clean-up operation, and their numerous noisy helicopters. Not the catastrophe itself but talk of catastrophe was what forced the oil company to summon all hands so intrusively to the beach. The damage to be dealt with was not just to the environment but to corporate image.

Each successive ecological "catastrophe" devalues the language of alarm. The wreck of the tanker Haven off the Italian coast is the source of the latest environmental scare-stories. But it may safely be predicted that once the spectacular fire is out, nothing much more will be heard of it, as nothing much more has been heard of the "environmental terrorism" of President Saddam Hussein's oil slick in the Gulf. The sight of dying birds was indeed sad, but it flickered across the television screens only as long as there was nothing more dreadful to show. The waters of the Gulf are already on the way to recovery.

The word environment seems as naturally paired with the word disaster as male eagles with female ones, but not always in the way the phrase is meant. Some time after the Torrey Canyon was wrecked in 1967 it was concluded that the 10,000 tons of detergent used to disperse the oil had done more harm to the environment than the oil itself. After 24 years, the sea has mercifully repaired both

forms of man-made damage. Nature can be more effective in clearing up an oil slick than the expensive and well publicised interventions of man.

The Haven, fortunately, has foundered in warm Mediterranean waters, where oil-eating organisms naturally thrive. On the cold Alaskan coast, where the bacteria are as slow to breed as the eagles, it was found helpful to feed them with fertiliser dissolved in the sea, one of the more bizarre activities of the 9,000 eagle-disturbers.

Environmentalists seem to have more than their share of experts ready to proclaim the beginning of the apocalypse at the cough of a sparrow. But for all their proclaimed love of nature, they do not have much confidence in her. When they all cry wolf all the time, the danger is that the public will disregard them all the time.

The status of catastrophe-of-the-moment belongs to the burning oil-wells of Kuwait, some of the smoke from which is now falling as "black snow" in the Himalayas. The firing of the Kuwait oil wells was supposed to initiate a world-wide nuclear winter. But the worst that can be said of the Himalayan black snow appears now to be that it will absorb sunlight quicker than white snow, and so melt faster. Which at least saves sending 9,000 men to collect it, and disturb the eagles.

Meanwhile, from Chernobyl, the cry of "wolf" can be heard once more. And at the end of the fairy-tale, there was indeed a wolf. Is this it? The quicker experts can wind up their "my disaster is bigger than your disaster" contest, the sooner they can be heard with the right measure of alarm.

Major's cabinet and poll tax haste

From Mr David Blunkett, MP for Sheffield Brightside (Labour)

Sir, One of the advantages of John Major's indecision is claimed to be the re-emergence of cabinet government (report, April 15). It is, therefore, strange that we now hear reports that the cabinet this Thursday will have before it the Conservative alternative to the present poll tax and that this may be placed before the House of Commons the same afternoon.

Either the cabinet is expected merely to rubber-stamp these important and highly complex proposals, or suggested changes are to be written in without further approval or consideration, over the lunch break.

It is the first of these options, there is really no need to hold a cabinet meeting at all and if it is the second, then we are likely to be treated to the same bungling ineptitude which got us into the poll tax fiasco in the first place.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID BLUNKETT,
House of Commons,
April 15.

Legal research funding

From Professor L. H. Leigh and others

Sir, A proposal to split the funding arrangements for universities and polytechnics is under consideration by the government. A common funding council would probably administer block grants for teaching at undergraduate and graduate level. Funding for research, it is proposed, would gradually be transferred to the five existing research councils. Of these, incomparably the most important from the point of legal research is the Economic and Social Research Council.

The councils are really best equipped to validate large-scale research. It is difficult to see how any research council could possibly, administratively, validate large numbers of relatively small projects. Most legal research does not consist of large projects. Admittedly, there have been some useful large-scale projects, usually involving law and another discipline such as criminology or geography. A great deal of research, however, consists of small projects carried out by a lone scholar or by one or two scholars working together.

Small-scale research of great value has been engaged in by the British universities over the past 30 years. Some of us fear that the proposed funding arrangements would make it almost impossible for research of that character to be carried on, certainly to the present extent.

The funding we are talking about would consist not simply of relatively small amounts for research assistance and travel, but also a proportion of academic salaries. Normal university research would thus have to take account of that part of the law teacher's time which was spent upon any particular project.

Yours faithfully,
L. H. LEIGH (LSE),
IAN KENNEDY (King's College, London),
PETER SLINN (School of Oriental and African Studies),
ROSS CRANSTON (Queen Mary and Westfield College),
B. A. HEPPLER (University College London),
London School of Economics and Political Science,
Law Department,
Houghton Street, WC2,
April 15.

Food, glorious food

From Professor Emeritus John Postgate

Sir, Raymond Postgate, my father, would have been surprised, though pleased, to find himself mentioned in your third leader today, 20 years after his death. But he would certainly have protested at your giving him the distinctly disreputable cognomen *bon vivier*. He was, he always insisted, a *bon vivant*.

And contrary to your suggestion, as a socialist he would not have been at all surprised at the rise in incomes among ordinary people during the Good Food Guide's seminal period. Redistribution of incomes was a major objective of the socialist governments which were in power for much of the time.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN POSTGATE,
Houdean Lodge, 1 Houdean Rise,
Lewes, East Sussex,
April 10.

Mortgage repayments

From the Director-General of the Building Societies Association

Sir, Your report, "Lenders accused of ostrich attitude" (April 8), does not reflect very well the attitude taken by building societies to those of their customers who are finding difficulty in meeting their mortgage repayments. The societies devote considerable resources both to assessing the ability of their borrowers to repay the loan before the mortgage is granted and to assisting them if payment difficulties emerge.

The Policy Studies Institute's 1990 report, "Credit and Debt in Britain", based on research undertaken the previous year, showed 16 per cent of tenants had problems with rent arrears. Only 3 per cent of people buying their home on a mortgage reported a problem, compared with around 8 per cent of those repaying their overdraft, 5 per cent with a loan repayment, and 4 per cent with hire-purchase repayment difficulties.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

Concern for London archaeology

From Dr Hugh Chapman and others

Sir, We are dismayed to learn of plans by the Museum of London which, if implemented, will constitute a serious threat to the capital's archaeological rescue excavation services. The museum, it seems, proposes to merge two separate archaeological services — one for Greater London, the other for the City. This union is sensible, but is apparently to be accompanied by changes in policy and such drastic cuts in staff that excavation cover throughout London will become much more limited and selective.

From 1974 to 1983 the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society and the Surrey Archaeological Society were responsible for rescue archaeology in most of Greater London. With project-funding from the Ancient Monuments Section of the Department of the Environment, each employed a small team of archaeologists for that purpose. A third team was similarly employed by an independent committee, the Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Excavation Committee. Both county societies are represented on this committee, as are the two boroughs and other institutions concerned with local archaeology. The two societies also set up a joint working party on London archaeology to monitor and co-ordinate archaeological work in the capital, with co-opted representatives of active archaeological organisations all over London.

Battle positions on Hadrian's Wall

From Mr John Anstey

Sir, The contention (April 13) by the chairman of the Northumberland County Council planning sub-committee that permission had to be granted for exploratory drilling so close to one of Britain's few sites of world archaeological importance, on the grounds that "hypothetical future development" must be ignored, is absurd. I have often given evidence at planning enquiries after councils have misdirected themselves into refusing permission, but on this occasion Northumberland appear to have erred in the opposite direction.

Precise interpretation of government circulars is frequently difficult, but it must be at least possible, if not probable, that the hypothetical development mentioned in the Department of the Environment's guidelines refers to alternative proposals — say for housing — not to gross enlargement and extension of those now current.

Cannot the council see that if the oil company finds anything, its determination to push through an application for large-scale exploitation will be much greater than it would have been merely to acquire the right to explore? As the planners say that they do not intend to allow that exploitation to happen, why on earth did they not oppose the preliminaries with full force?

Yours faithfully,
JOHN ANSTEY (Principal),
Austey Horne & Co. (Chartered Surveyors),
31 Newbury Street,
St Bartholomew's, EC1.

From the Managing Director of ARCO British Limited

Sir, Though he may be surprised to hear it, we at ARCO British fully support Dr Cleere (April 11) and his efforts as Director of the Council for British Archaeology to fight for the preservation of every historical site. But comparisons with Avebury or Stonehenge are highly misleading.

As opposed to a small singular site, Hadrian's Wall stretches from one side of Britain to the other — 73 miles. After nearly 2,000 years, the

Vital statistics

From Mr Richard A. Black

Sir, The pullman car attendant who said that most people gave more than the average tip (letter, April 15) was merely stating that well known and much quoted statistical fact that the median can be greater than the arithmetic mean. For example, if one person gave £4 and three people gave £2, the average would be £2.50, three out of four would have given more than that average.

Of course, in these times of recession it is much more likely that three people will give nothing and one person will give £5 (I am not prepared to admit which category I would fall into), thus resulting in a median below the mean.

Yours faithfully,
RICHARD BLACK,
8 Atwood Road, W6.

From the Chairman of the Money Advice Trust

Sir, You report from the Consumer Congress in Belfast that "financial institutions had failed to pay the voluntary levy intended to support" the Money Advice Trust, which was set up to channel funds towards advice agencies.

This is not so. It is only in the last week that I have started writing to all credit-granting institutions in this country to ask for contributions to the trust. I have no reason to believe that those institutions will not give us their whole-hearted support.

Yours faithfully,
GEORGE BLUNDEN, Chairman,
Money Advice Trust,
c/o Registry Trust Limited,
2 Ridgmount Street, WC1,
April 9.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number — 071 782 5046.

Making best case for our refugees

From the Chairman of the Refugee Council

Sir, The Home Secretary now has an excellent chance to take decisions which will benefit refugees and asylum-seekers in this country. The Refugee Council has made a submission to the Home Office which draws attention to the injustice which will follow if some of the measures that have been reported are put into effect.

Ministers have repeatedly maintained that many asylum-seekers are somehow not "genuine". Statements like this make it extremely difficult for asylum-seekers to receive a fair hearing.

We hope the government's decisions will be based on humanitarian criteria and will not work against the interests of persecuted people who are forced to flee. We are particularly worried about two suggestions, that "exceptional leave to remain" (ELR) status will be restricted and that refugees in Britain will be dispersed to accommodation all over the country.

Until now the government has recognised that some asylum-seekers who are deemed not to have met the definition of a refugee in the 1951 Convention should still be able to stay in Britain. They have been given ELR status because of the risks they would run if returned to their home country.

The Refugee Council believes that some of these asylum-seekers should have been given full "refugee status". But we also believe that the safety net of ELR is vital to provide some protection to those who would be in danger if returned to their home country. If the government indeed plans to limit or even abolish exceptional leave to remain, that would be very worrying indeed.

The idea of spreading new arrivals out to towns and cities around Britain has been mentioned as one way of relieving housing pressure in any one place. But "dispersal" has been tried in the past and has failed to meet the needs of refugees.

Adapting to life in a new country is difficult. It is even harder without the practical and emotional support provided by members of their own communities. At the very least, refugees should be helped to make an informed choice about where to live.

Yours,
CLINTON-DAVIS, Chairman,
The Refugee Council,
3 Bowway, SW8,
April 15.

Teacher appraisals

From Mr J. S. Sikorski

Sir, The current dispute between the NUT and the Department of Education over the compulsory appraisal of teachers (report, April 2) is astonishing, at least from one perspective.

Performance appraisals are commonplace in private industry, with many different schemes in existence and many companies have applied them successfully. These schemes share clear and well-accepted goals — namely, to improve performance, encourage personal development and reward results.

To argue that performance appraisals should not be linked to reward is a failure to understand and apply good principles of management. There again, it may reflect an inherent resistance to change for the better, recognising that such a change would challenge traditional and protected practices.

As a parent, I would demand performance appraisals for all teachers. Education comes first and improvement in standards must be pursued at every opportunity. Parents need to be satisfied that teachers are meeting the required standards in their assigned responsibilities.

Teachers need also to be held accountable. There should be no guarantees of jobs or reward sought or given for poor performance in the teaching or any other profession.

Yours sincerely,
J. S. SIKORSKI,
Dabrowice,
Lower Earley,
Reading, Berkshire,
April 3.

Sainsbury retirement

From the General Director of the Royal Opera House

Sir, Your diarist's speculation (April 10) as to Lord Sainsbury's reasons for retiring as chairman of the Royal Opera House is pretty wide of the mark.

The Arts Council's appraisal of the Royal Ballet, far from being "strongly critical" of its management, led to an award of £500,000 enhancement money. We are hopeful of an even happier outcome for the Royal Opera.

Yours faithfully,
JEREMY ISAACS,
General Director,
Royal Opera House,
Covent Garden, WC2,
April 12.

Così fan who?

From Mr Julian Spence

Sir, On the whole I enjoyed Peter Sellers' production of *Don Giovanni* (review, Arts, April 4) and *Così fan tutti* (performance, BBC2, April 7), but he did seem to use some fairly old-fashioned, background music. Couldn't he find something more modern to go with them?

Yours faithfully,
JULIAN SPENCE,
School House, Barnham Thorpe,
King's Lynn, Norfolk,
April 7.

NEW RELEASES

● **THE BONNIE OF THE WHITES** (19) Ben Dufrene's stylish, cartoon-like version of the novel by John Galsworthy. The film is a remake of the 1935 version by Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger. Released on video by MCA Home Video (071-222 5577).

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CINEMA GUIDE

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Fanfare of crystal clarity

CONCERT
CBSO/Rattle
Symphony Hall,
Birmingham

I THINK we all expected the new Birmingham concert hall to be something rather wonderful, for reasons both practical and sentimental. The City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra and its conductor Simon Rattle deserved a glorious home after their extraordinary achievements of the last decade. Moreover, Russell Johnson, who designed the place, is widely acknowledged as the world's leading expert in creating companionable spaces for music, and his Birmingham hall is evidently a close relation to the enthusiastically received one he recently completed in Dallas. So the excitement on Monday night, when the CBSO gave its first public concert in Symphony Hall, was more of relief and satisfaction than of surprise.

Still, this was a thrilling occasion. In the first place, Symphony Hall is a good place to be smart and special without being lavish, well appointed and with plentiful daylight into the foyers and bars. The auditorium itself has something of the functional but swagging character of an ocean liner, thanks to its oval shape, its four decks of railed balconies and its stout columnar features. It also boasts a proud colour-scheme of soft rich red, light wood, chrome and dull white, and has the further visual advantage that, thanks to the deep, box-like shape, there is a feeling of closeness to the mu-

sicians and to other members of the audience, a sense of intimacy even in a building that seats 2,000 people.

Of course it is the acoustic that is all-important, and Symphony Hall looks on this showing to be a virtuoso among concert rooms. Most extraordinary is the piano-sound, a feature Rattle and his players exploited in both the works they played, Stravinsky's *Firebird* and Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloe*. Being insulated from the outside world and resting on rubber buffers, the hall is virtually free of ambient noise, which means that the most delicate sounds can register: the effect was almost uncanny, and quite outside my experience. The only drawback is that audience noise registers accurately too.

The absence of external noise must be one feature assisting the great clarity of the sound, though this is not the intense clarity that makes an orchestra into an assembly of 80 separate players. Blendings can work beautifully, even across the distance between trombones and flutes, and the choral sound in the Ravel, supplied by the CBSO's own choir, was marvelously integrated. No, this is a clarity that is essentially musical, helping to bring out inner parts and fine detail.

The sound is also decisively platform-centred: the lowest notes of the double basses seemed to bring out an audible and indeed tangible resonance from the body of the hall. However, the reverberation characteristics can be altered at will, and perhaps could usefully have been to give the violins more warmth in the Ravel: there were wry moments when one heard too



Triumphant performance: Simon Rattle at the new Symphony Hall

much the metal of the strings. Equally, though, the musicians may find their playing changes as they adapt to the new hall. If the exceptionally alive performances on this occasion were anything to go by, the place is obviously going

to be an inspiration to the orchestra playing there regularly, and to the visiting orchestras that will be drawn to it. It will be an inspiration also to its audiences.

PAUL GRIFFITHS

THEATRE
Top Girls
Royal Court

THIS is the first important revival of the play that back in 1982 left even her political foes somewhat awed by Caryl Churchill. How many writers could match the imaginative chutzpah of her first act, let alone reconcile it with the realistic sections that followed? After *Top Girls* it was no longer possible to patronise women dramatists: a major talent had established itself, and it was indisputably female.

That talent astonishes still. Imagine the sort of dinner party

you might conjure up in some sensationally fanciful game of *Consequences*, and you have Churchill's opening sequence. In the Prima Donna restaurant, Pope Joan carouses with a Victorian lady-traveller, a Japanese courtesan turned wandering maid, Chaucer's ultra-patient Griselda, and Duffie Grey, whom Bruegel painted invading hell and beating up demons. All suffered, most by losing their children. All faced the tribulations of their eras with resourcefulness and courage.

But *Top Girls* is not a triumphalist piece of feminist history. On the contrary, the play would madden the kind of doctrinaire gatekeeper to be found policing Women's Studies in some modern universities. Churchill's

thesis is that many women are missing the opportunities painfully won by these pioneers. For some, freedom seems to consist of ferociously adopting the very values that have kept them down their

Compare Cecily Hobbs's cool Pope Joan or Sarah Lam's peppy 13th-century Japanese or Deborah Findlay's prim, earnest Scots traveller and their losses, Lesley Manville's sleek, assured Mariene. She is celebrating an event she thinks makes her these women's equal, promotion to chief executive of an employment agency, adept at finding its "top girls" jobs as secretaries or middle managers. But this penny success has been bought by personal mutilation, including the rejection of a daughter brought up by Mariene's sister

on the drab council estate. Somewhere here is a complex play's centre. Lesley Sharp, earlier a marvellously sullen Griet, gives the performance of the evening as Mariene's daughter, exuding bewilderment and dopey helplessness. But for the mother she believes to be her aunt, the girl is simply "a bit thick". What use is female emancipation, asks Churchill, if it transforms clever women into predators and does nothing for the stupid?

Max Stafford-Clark, directing, could have trimmed the text, especially parts that come across as standard Royal Court social irreverence to Mrs Thatcher, alias "Hilary", limit the play.

BENEDICT NIGHTINGALE

US CASE
Carmen Jones
Old Vic

THE eternal mischief-maker, Carmen creates discussion even among critics. Last week, Benedict Nightingale extended a warm welcome to *Carmen Jones* in these pages. While some fell under her spell, others had reservations about the theatrical clichés of Simon Callow's production, and a lack of genuine excitement, let alone electricity. The unrepentant mix now presents a different face — the alternative casting for Carmen and Joe — and the show is transformed. Never mind the big operatic (or, rather, cinematic) name in the first cast: this is the one to go for.

Sharon Benson's background is West End musical. She was the first black Grizabella in *Cats*. She may never sing Carmen, but she makes a magnificent Carmen Jones. If Wilhelmina Fernandez made Carmen a sleek pedigree feline, claws sheathed in velvet, Benson has a touch of the feral.

Fernandez gives us a disdainful, slightly manically coquettish, unbelievable in a factory brawl. In place of her sulky dignity — which makes sense, however, in the stoic finalism of the fortune-telling scene — Benson has that gallantry that every Carmen needs, the mixed defiance and resignation of an animal scenting the approach of death.

Her light soprano, good by West End standards, alternates with body-chest tones, accompanied by some grinding gear changes. These obtrude only in the Seguidilla and in the sinuous vocal line with which Carmen entertains Joe in the bar. The real corporal is Michael Austin, a real tenor with evenly produced, well-covered tone, and a marginally more romantic figure than Damon Evans.

The band was less coarse, the old style D'Oyly Carte of the comical songs, and the variations more spontaneous than on the first night. Both audience and cast joined in applauding Benson like the new star she could undoubtedly become.

MARTIN HOYLE

AC/DC
Wembley Arena

FROM the land that brought you *Crocodile Dundee*, John Pilger and dodgy lager commercials comes the group that really couldn't give a damn about the dictates of fashion, musical or otherwise. Lewd, loud and led by a 36-year-old man who still dresses up in the uniform of a 19-year-old schoolboy, AC/DC remains the uniquely tasteless antidote to all forms of subtlety or pretentiousness, a perennial expression of rock as an exclusively delinquent pastime.

Playing at a truly excessive volume, they opened their British tour with a performance that was typically energetic and powerful, if somewhat lacking in nuance. It started with spectral flashes of lightning and peals of thunder. Chris Slade's drum kit rose up through the stage floor. Leaping from an elevated section behind him came Angus Young, head lolling, spindly white legs shaking spasmodically, his leering ex-

pression redolent of Jack Nicholson's just before being dismembered by the Witches of Eastwick. Charing in from the wings came the cloth-capped Brian Johnson, his microphone gripped like a grease-monkey's spanner. The stage floor looked like an airport runway at night, while behind the five musicians a complex structure of warehouse canvas loomed.

Musically, there was little innovation, with only four numbers from the new album, including "The Razors Edge" and "Money Talks". Angus pulled down his shorts during "Back in Black" and the nearest they got to a ballad was a thudding slow blues on the theme of venereal disease, which prompted a jolly crowd singalong.

An indecorous display to be sure, and one that was not without some slack loitering between numbers. But they powered their way through the malevolent drone of "Hell Bells" and the good-time wallop of "High Voltage" with the robust assurance of a group that remains firmly in touch with the eternal verities of its trade.

DAVID SINCLAIR

Arts features, page 15

THE TIMES
The London Times
ART
London 91
At the Times, the world's most influential art magazine, is now available in paperback for £2.50 (hardback £4.50).
The Sixth International Contemporary Art Fair is at Olympia from Thursday to Sunday.
11am-8pm daily.

TODAY'S EVENTS
RUSSIAN OPENING: The London Symphony Orchestra, under conductor Vladimir Ashkenazy, performs a selection of post-Shostakovich works, including the 10th and 11th Symphonies, by Boris Tishchenko, a Shostakovich pupil. His first performance of a concerto, Jacob's Ladder, by Dmitri Shostakovich, and the Four-Hand Piano Concerto by Shostakovich. Queen Elizabeth Hall, South Bank, London SE1. 071-403 8820, 7.45pm.

THE WOMAN IN BLACK
A new production by the Royal Shakespeare Company, starring Simon Callow as the lawyer and Sarah Badel as the woman in black. The play is a psychological thriller about a woman who returns to her childhood home and claims to be haunted by a woman in black. The play is being performed at the Swan Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire. Tickets: 01927 552111.

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071-403 8820

BBC 2



Charlie and Di: Danielle Tilley and Mark Dexter (4.40pm)

4.40 Palace Hill. New series of the school comedy starring Mark Dexter and Danielle Tilley

5.10 Blockbusters hosted by Bob Holness

5.40 News with Carol Barnes (Oracle) Weather

5.55 Thames Help. Jackie Sprockley with more crime prevention


viewers to watch has now finished up on the small screen again as part of Channel 4's *Banned* season. Some viewers, jacked up by the sight of the young lodge (Sting) sending the bedridden girl to the hospital, fantasized that the girl would be sent to the hospital, into, wouldn't care a jot whether Pontus intended the rapist to be seen as an emissary from Hell – there is more than one clue that suggests this – or whether he was implying that the youth could equally well have been sent from Heaven. There is more than one clue to suggest to the viewer that the girl is not a virgin.

2.40am The *Martyrdom of St Sebastian* As a precursor to a screening of Derek Jarman's film about the late St Sebastian this documentary explores the varying attitudes towards and images

matinée cliff
South Valley (1

10.30 Vic Reeves Bag Night Out More off-the-wall humour with cult comedians **Vic Reeves** and **Rob Mortimer** plus another appearance by the Men with the Sticks

Day Outings 1
(Coastal)



Portraying an emissary from Heaven or Hell? *Sting* (11.00pm)

I DO Banned Film – Brimstone and Treacle (1992)

► CHOICE In some respects as obnoxious as anything he has ever written for a screen of any kind, Dennis Porter's adaptation of the big (i.e. cinema) screen of the play he wrote originally for the small (i.e. television) screen and for years held to be unfit for BBC viewers to watch has now finished up on the small screen again as part of Channel 4's *Banned* season. Some viewers, sickened by the sight of the young lodge (*Sting*) raping the badminton girl

a) has his hair
more combed

2.40pm The Martyrdom of St Sebastian As a precursor to a ...
documentary explores the varying attitudes towards and images of this persecuted man killed in a host of forms. Ends at 1.40


Meeting
Breakfast
Hang 6.

[illegible]

NETW

**FIVE HUNDRED
BUSINESSES A WEEK
GO BANKRUPT.
IT MUST BE SOMETHING
TO DO WITH
BRITISH MANAGEMENT**

3


5.00 P
B

0 15 K

Coupled to that, we have a crippling interest rate of 12%, still higher than 9.5% in France and 9% in Germany.

Labour Euro MPs want Britain to be great again. In the European Parliament, we are pressing for a European policy on industry to promote industrial development, research and training throughout the community.

Our European neighbours know how to build a strong industry. You work with it, not against it.



NATIONAL UNION OF
IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURERS

12.00-12.00
W

THE BETTER WAY FOR BRITAIN IN EUROPE

European Parliamentary Labour Party 7 Queen Anne's Gate London SW1A 2HA

Director was a master of both suburban love stories and wide-screen drama

Lean, a giant of the cinema

David Lean, who died yesterday, was a major figure in British film making for 50 years. The Times film critic, Geoff Brown, assesses his career

THE landscape of British cinema will never look quite the same again after the death of David Lean. He brought a distinctive brand of quality, taste, integrity, emotional restraint and intelligence.

In *Brief Encounter* he waded through the emotional whirlpool of a suburban love affair with extraordinary finesse, while his Dickens films of the late Forties raised the cinematic art of literary adaptation to a level that few others approached.

Some critics carp at his later transition to an international director of enormous, wide-screen sumptuous epics. But his grasp of character and narrative sweep kept cinema audiences contented. Which ever way you look, he was a giant.

Lean began in the business as an film editor. The training proved crucial: the shots in his films were always well-chiselled, carefully placed for maximum effect. He was pre-eminently a technician, a wizard with images.

His hallmarks can be spotted even in his first film as director, *In Which We Serve*, co-directed with Noel Coward in 1942. Coward, who wrote the script, supplied the crisp structure. But it was Lean who drove the film forward, offsetting the set-piece exchanges with sharp scenes of naval warfare.

Lean's early career flourished under Coward's umbrella; he directed pleasant adaptations of *This Happy Breed* and *Blithe Spirit*. Yet his handling of *Brief Encounter* proved his quality once and for all. Lean's special gift was to make the ordinary powerfully memorable, to suggest the depths of frustration, hope, and despair.

Lean's nose for the atmospheric setting proved crucial to the Dickens films that followed. *Great Expectations* brought a huge social panorama to life. *Oliver Twist* carved a bolder stylistic path.

These post-war years were the glory days of British cinema. The industry came out of the war with its head held high, and Lean's films



Lean's legacy: John Howard Davies and Robert Newton in *Oliver Twist* (top left), Omar Sharif and Peter O'Toole in *Lawrence of Arabia*, (middle) Sessue Hayakawa and Alec Guinness in *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, (above, left) and Brenda Banzie, Charles Laughton and John Mills in *Hobson's Choice* (above, right). Top right: David Lean on the set of *A Passage to India*



played a large part in the renaissance. When the boom period faded in the early Fifties, some of Lean's sparkle faded too. Yet his craftsmanship remained impeccable.

By moving up to the international, globe-trotting sphere of directors, Lean traded in some of his cogency for wide-screen bedazzlement. Yet his acute understanding of the British character brought a sharp edge to *The Bridge on the River Kwai*. His films became fewer and longer.

Lawrence of Arabia, ravishingly photographed by Fred-

die Young, displayed consummate mastery of the wide screen. *Dr Zhivago* transferred Pasternak's novel to the screen with undoubted panache, but *Ryan's Daughter* showed the pitfalls of marrying a vast canvas to a wisp of material. Fourteen years later, *A Passage to India* showed Lean's love of big movie-making was undiminished.

Whatever the final judgment on his last films, Lean's best work will provide a benchmark for the achievements of British cinema. A colossus has gone.

New Chernobyl fears

Continued from page 1

London that the team was considering building a second sarcophagus and filling reactor rooms at the lower levels with whisked concrete. These might only be short-term measures, however. The team is keen to find a solution to secure the site for 100 years, said Dr Buzhukov.

Without urgent action and technical assistance from the West an accident could occur

at any time, the Soviet scientists say. In five to seven years, a radiological accident will not be just a theoretical possibility. "We will live in constant expectation of it," said Alexander Borovoi, head of the expedition.

The scientists' concerns, and the first pictures from inside the sarcophagus, will be broadcast in a BBC *Horizon* programme next Monday night.

Refugees still flocking into Iran

Continued from page 1

with increasing numbers of refugees suffering dehydration, severe exhaustion or injury from anti-personnel mines which hem them in on both sides of the road.

On Monday doctors in M Fages' team treated about 150 people, many with mine injuries which required amputations, at a clinic set up at the crossing. "Things are getting worse and worse on the bor-

der," he said. "It is getting more saturated with people and they are coming across slower, which is having a chain effect."

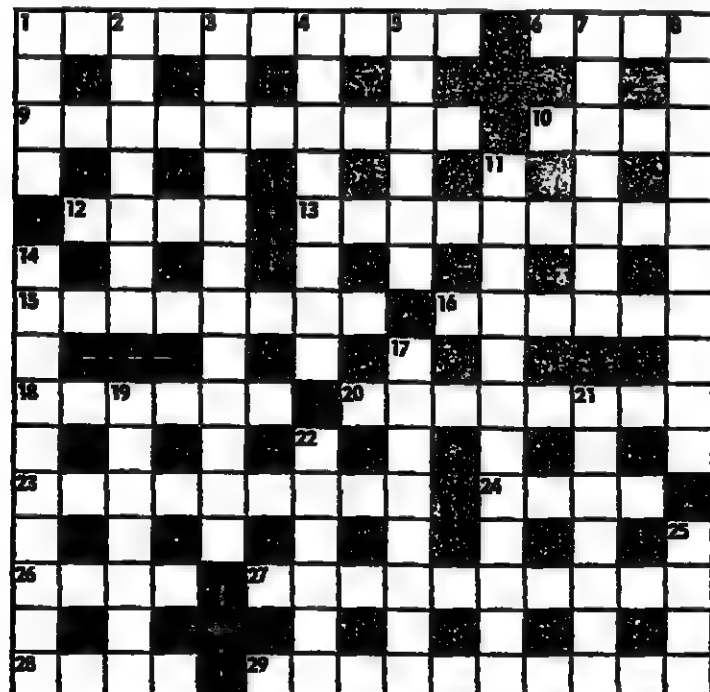
He added that Iraqi forces had bombed them at the back of the queue on Monday, about 60 miles from the border. He did not know if there had been any injuries or deaths.

Other informed Western officials confirmed that Iran-

ian soldiers opened fire on Saturday, wounding two refugees who had crossed into Iran to collect food and were attempting to run back into Iraq to take it to their families.

Hans Sammege, the Swedish medical co-ordinator for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Iran who has been visiting the border, said he was expecting another huge influx of refugees in the coming days.

THE TIMES CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO 18,582



ACROSS
1 Part of watch is used (6-4).
6 After retirement, go round the bend (4).
9 Where Kitchener's men went to excess (4,3,3).
10 It's time I left seductive woman (4).
12 Talked of girl's wear (4).
13 They will get concerned about one innocent (4-5).
15 Pop up American soldiers (and English) following Frenchman about (8).
16 Bluff Henry VIII (6).
18 In prime time, only half turn over to Proms' opening (6).
20 Female striker gets rid of son to servant (8).
23 No. sixteen has built an extra room or two (9).

DOWN
1 See 22 (4).
2 Crack cleric in charge in church (7).
3 Emphatically no love before action (7).
4 Taking no notice when they say he didn't have as much (8).
5 Nut — an ingredient of chow mein (6).
7 In love, take the trouble to call (7).
8 Mineral found in lake (10).
11 Engaging, accident-prone boy makes a bloomer (5-7).
14 He'd be after changing the mattress (7-3).
17 The old suffer under thin clothing (8).
19 Nationalist group participates in strike (7).
21 Red car carrying Brownies overturned (7).
22 Police enter tall building (6).
25 One employing a devious ruse (4).

WORD WATCH
A daily safari through the language jungle. Which of the possible definitions is correct?
By Philip Howard.

DIRTY GIRL
a. An operating theatre nurse
b. A loose woman
c. A railway cattle truck

LADINO
a. An outdoor latrine
b. A fast ring dance
c. Spanish/Hebrew dialect

ICTERUS
a. Tremor in the voice
b. Jaundice
c. The rind of a cucumber

COFFETIC
a. An ecclesiastical vestment
b. Fine or excellent
c. A horse music

AA ROADWATCH
For the latest AA traffic and roadworks information, 24 hours a day, dial 0836 401 followed by the appropriate code.

London & SE
C. London (within N & S Circles) 731
M-ways/roads M4-M11 732
M-ways/roads M1-Dartford T. 733
M-ways/roads Dartford T-M25 734
M-ways/roads M25-M4 735
M25 London Orbital only 736

National
National motorways 737
West Country 738
Wales 739
Midlands 740
East Anglia 741
North-west England 742
North-east England 743
Scotland 744
Northern Ireland 745

AA Roadwatch is charged at 34p per minute (cheap rate) and 45p per minute at all other times.

WEATHER
Scotland will be cloudy with wintry showers likely in the north and east and snow on hills. Eastern coasts of England will have some rain or sleet and will be cloudy at times. Most of England, Wales and Northern Ireland will stay dry and most places will have some sunshine. Northerly winds will be strong and cold and many southern areas in particular will feel much colder. Outlook: cold with bright spells

Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Precip
Abertawe	10	10	10	10
Abertawe	10	10	10	10
Abertawe	10	10	10	10
Abertawe	10	10	10	10
Abertawe	10	10	10	10
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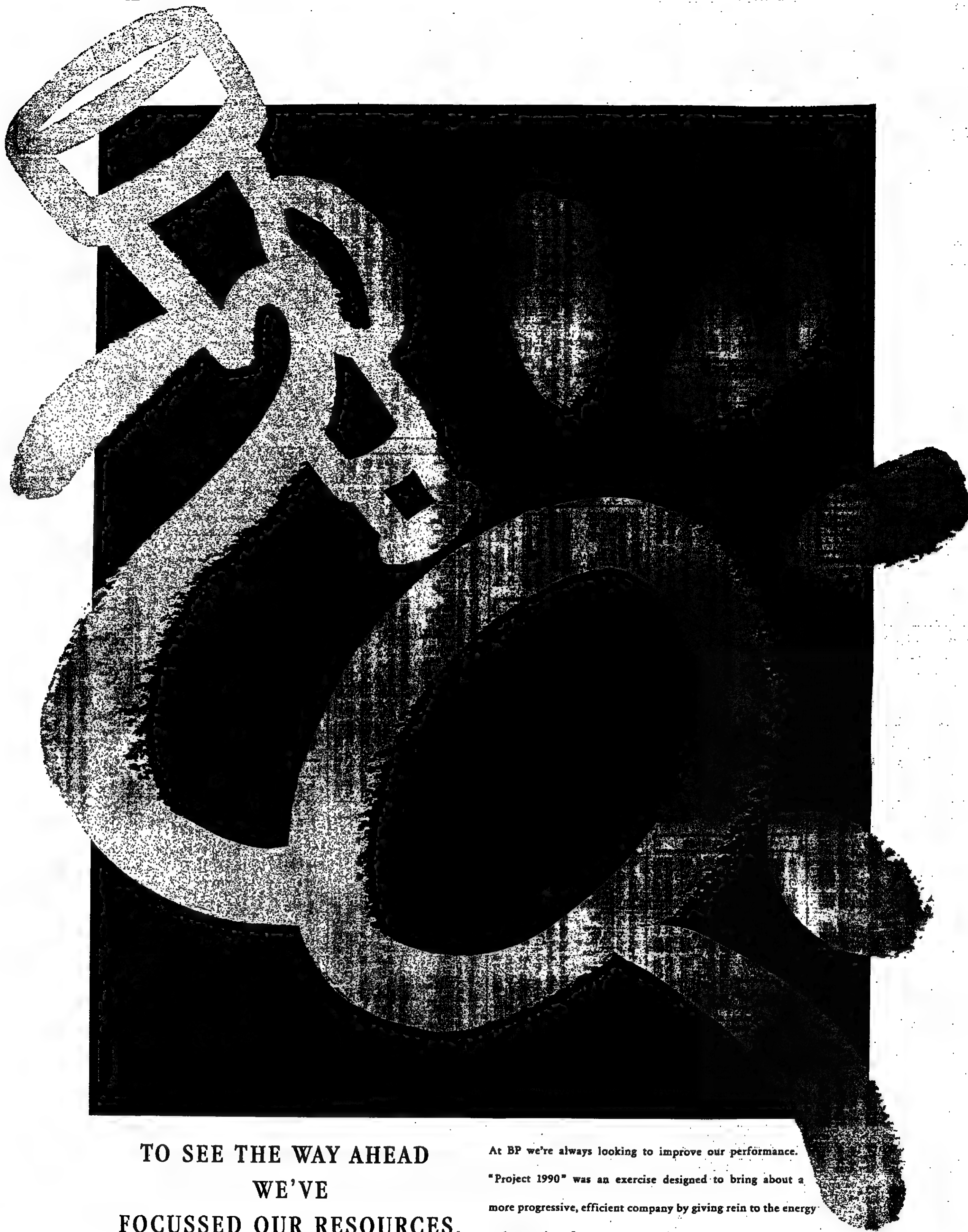
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Abertawe	10	10	10	10
Abertawe	10	10	10	10

This puzzle was solved within 30 minutes by seven per cent of the competitors at the 1991 Birmingham regional final of The Times Collins Dictionary Crossword Championship.

09-11-150



TO SEE THE WAY AHEAD
WE'VE
FOCUSSED OUR RESOURCES.



At BP we're always looking to improve our performance. "Project 1990" was an exercise designed to bring about a more progressive, efficient company by giving rein to the energy and expertise of our most valuable resource - our employees. It has resulted in a radical remodelling of both the company's structure and its management philosophy. Hierarchy has been simplified. Initiative has been encouraged. Standing committees have given way to more informal teamwork. Operating responsibilities have been devolved from the centre to front-line management. The result? BP is now in shape for an even more dynamic future. Which is something we're all glad to see.

For a copy of the 1990 annual report please telephone 0800 400 415 (Freefone available to UK callers only), or post this coupon to BP, Freepost, Floor, IAT, Britannic House, 1 Finsbury Circus, London, EC2B 2YP.

Name

Address

Postcode

TT 2

Chapter 1.50

[illegible]

Exchange Index compared with 1985 was down at 92.9 (day's range 92.8-93.2).									
STERLING SPOT AND FORWARD RATES									
Bank Rates for Apr 18	Range	Close	1 month	3 month	6 month	9 month	12 month	15 month	18 month
New York	1.7850-1.7890	1.7885-1.7895	0.91-0.95	0.84-0.87	0.84-0.87	0.84-0.87	0.84-0.87	0.84-0.87	0.84-0.87
London	2.0435-2.0505	2.0525-2.0570	0.40-0.50	0.40-0.50	0.40-0.50	0.40-0.50	0.40-0.50	0.40-0.50	0.40-0.50
Amsterdam	3.8530	3.8570	0.25-0.30	0.25-0.30	0.25-0.30	0.25-0.30	0.25-0.30	0.25-0.30	0.25-0.30
Frankfurt	61-62-65	61-65-68	17-12	17-12	17-12	17-12	17-12	17-12	17-12
Copenhagen	11.4005-11.4805	11.4035-11.4277	76-1/2	76-1/2	76-1/2	76-1/2	76-1/2	76-1/2	76-1/2
Stockholm	11.11-11.80	11.13-11.80	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2
Paris	2.0777-2.0990	2.0787-2.0820	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2
London	253-25-259.50	254-25-262.50	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p
Amsterdam	11.10-11.80	11.13-11.80	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2
Frankfurt	2.0777-2.0990	2.0787-2.0820	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2
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London	253-25-259.50	254-25-262.50	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p
Amsterdam	11.10-11.80	11.13-11.80	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2
Frankfurt	2.0777-2.0990	2.0787-2.0820	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2
Stockholm	11.11-11.80	11.13-11.80	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2
Paris	2.0777-2.0990	2.0787-2.0820	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2
London	253-25-259.50	254-25-262.50	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p
Amsterdam	11.10-11.80	11.13-11.80	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2
Frankfurt	2.0777-2.0990	2.0787-2.0820	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2
Stockholm	11.11-11.80	11.13-11.80	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2
Paris	2.0777-2.0990	2.0787-2.0820	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2
London	253-25-259.50	254-25-262.50	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p
Amsterdam	11.10-11.80	11.13-11.80	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2
Frankfurt	2.0777-2.0990	2.0787-2.0820	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2
Stockholm	11.11-11.80	11.13-11.80	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2
Paris	2.0777-2.0990	2.0787-2.0820	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2
London	253-25-259.50	254-25-262.50	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p	16p-30p
Amsterdam	11.10-11.80	11.13-11.80	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2	133-1/2
Frankfurt	2.0777-2.0990	2.0787-2.0820	5-1/2	5-1/2	5-1/2				

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Groomed for office stardom

A secretary, you may think, has the most frustrating job in the company. She has great influence and responsibility, but little authority. She is at the centre of office life, a permanent answering service, the organisation's linchpin — and everybody's buffer.

These and other aspects of her role will be addressed during the three-day London Secretary Show, which opens today at Olympia 2, west London. The event, the fifth in London, is designed to help the secretary in three ways.

First, it will help her to provide her department with an even more efficient service. Hotels and conference centres, office furniture and equipment companies, business travel and airlines, couriers, florists, stationery, training and recruitment agencies are among more than 100 exhibitors. With the increasing responsibility of the secretary's role, companies know she plays an important part in decisions about office budgets and goods and services.

Second, daily seminars — each a mini-training session costing £6.50 for 45 minutes — will cover essentials of the job, such as effective communication, time management and making good use of the stress caused by the job.

Third, several seminars relate to development: how to become confident with your appearance; ideas for moving into management for personal assistants (PAs) and senior secretaries; and working on the Continent.

Some seminar leaders have worked as secretaries. Anna Amblin, for example, who says she went from "dogbody to PA", is

Simple techniques can help secretaries to improve their work and be more confident with their colleagues. Sally Watts reports

with the Industrial Society's communications skills course. "Secretaries are the front line and have a responsibility to communicate well. They must say what needs saying, to people both in and out of the office, who have dealings with the boss," Ms Amblin says. "This means they have an important role, yet — particularly at junior level — many are reluctant to identify themselves. When answering the phone they just say 'Mr X's secretary' or 'Mr X's phone'."

Ms Amblin urges secretaries to realise the value of preparation before making a telephone call or writing a letter, or brevity when doing so and of getting the message right the first time.

Mary Overton, who is also at the Industrial Society, was once a senior secretary but now works in development. She will conduct two seminars on secretarial management skills: motivation and delegation, decision making and problem solving.

The society's secretarial development department is concerned that senior secretaries are put in charge, either formally or informally, of more junior staff, and may have to monitor workloads and report to other managers. Yet

they lack both the authority and the managerial skills to do so.

The seminars provide help on problems such as motivation: how do you get people to perform tasks not only well, but willingly? Think what motivates you. Challenge? Involvement? Responsibility? Achievement? The chances are, these same factors will also motivate others. In the case of a junior, give her a whole job or project, not

'Secretaries are the front line and have a responsibility to communicate well. They must say what needs saying to people in and out of the office'



Anna Amblin

just the dull bits. But it is not all work and tactics. There is also appearance, and it is important.

Barney Tremblay, who runs Personal Style, is conducting two seminars on confidence through appearance, showing that the way a secretary presents herself needs to be linked, through self-awareness, to her identity.

"It takes just 30 seconds to get a first impression. Nine times out of ten this remains — and the

THE LONDON Secretary SHOW

negative ones seldom change," she says. "Appearance is more than what the eye beholds. Striking a balance between image and identity is important for secretaries: without their own strong, separate identity, they can be swallowed up in the identity of the company."

To complement the seminars, Vidal Sassoon salons will hold daily hair sessions, free of charge, with the chance of winning a free haircut. By no means all visitors to the show will be women.

A growing number of secretaries are men. And secretaries are not the only people who attend. Last year many male managers, administrators and technical support staff were there. Managers, like secretaries, are subject to stress, so it might help your manager to learn what

stresses you. One example, according to Sue Coryndon, an associate of the Industrial Society, is when three managers all want work completed at the same time. Her solution is to be neither a doormat nor a dragon: be assertive and ask them to organise clear deadlines.

Ms Coryndon, a former secretary, says: "Much is expected of secretaries, yet they have no real clout; they are the sponge and buffer." For example, they must

cope with the frustrations of a caller asking why the boss has not answered a call. Ms Coryndon will hold seminars at the show on dealing with stress.

A survey has shown that boredom, too little responsibility and lack of opportunity to progress are the main reasons secretaries leave their jobs. At a more senior level, some may be aiming for managerial roles. They will find encouragement and ideas in two seminars on women in management.

Secretaries should ask themselves: Where am I now? Where do I want to be? How will I get there? Where will I be in ten years? How am I seen by others? How do I see myself? Questions such as these are posed by Denise Taylorson, of Management and Skills Training.

Ms Taylorson will discuss the value of setting goals, first steps to promotion, taking advantage of a network of friends and contacts and the help secretaries can give themselves through "positive self-talk" — for example, saying "I could do that".

There are other seminars, too, in a programme arranged in conjunction with the Institute of Qualified Private Secretaries and the Industrial Society. Like the exhibitors' stands, these seminars can help secretaries at different levels to fulfil their traditional role as people who find a solution to every office problem.

● The Secretary Show is open today from 10am to 6pm, tomorrow to 8pm and on Friday to 5pm. Seminars start daily at 10.30; the last ones begin at 3.55pm.



First impressions: Barney Tremblay says appearance matters

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SPORT

Souness assumes the Anfield reins

By IAN ROSS

LIVERPOOL's search for a successor to Kenny Dalglish ended yesterday with the appointment of Graeme Souness as manager.

Souness, aged 37, will this morning assume control of the club where he spent six highly successful years as a player, following his abrupt departure from Rangers yesterday.

He is expected to take charge of first-team affairs for the League game against Norwich City at Anfield on Saturday. He takes over the reins from Ronnie Moran, who has acted as caretaker manager since Dalglish's retirement from professional football in February.

Moran is to revert to his previous role of senior coach after informing his board of directors that he had no wish to pursue a career in management.

Although it is clear that Souness agreed to join Liverpool several weeks ago, his appointment was not supposed to be made public until the end of the season. However, the mounting speculation about Souness's future at Ibrox prompted David Murray, the Rangers chairman, to issue a statement yesterday confirming that the former Scottish international midfielder player would be leaving the club "with immediate effect".

Souness, who succeeded Jock Wallace as the manager of Rangers in 1986, admitted that he was saddened and disappointed to be leaving Rangers. "This is an enormous decision and one which was not taken lightly," he said. "This is a very sad day for me."

"There are two reasons why I have decided to go to Liverpool. The first, and biggest one, is that I have three young children who are at an age when I should be spending more time with them."

"On the footballing side, I feel that I have gone as far as I am allowed to go in trying to achieve success at this club. I feel that now is the best time

for me to go." Moran had no hesitation in predicting a bright future for Souness, even though he rejoins Liverpool at a time when the club is entering a transitional phase.

"I think that he is the ideal man for the job," Moran said. "I know his attitude to the game and I think he will be just as successful as Kenny Dalglish."

"I had no problems with him when he was here as a player. He is a born leader and always wants to win. The biggest thing about Graeme Souness is that when he arrives he will be winning trophies. He will be more ruthless than Kenny Dalglish."

Phil Thompson, the Liverpool reserve team coach, said he was pleased to have Souness returning to the club. He said: "He is part of the family here at Anfield and he is one of the lads. He has excellent leadership qualities and I am very happy to see the job go to him."

Bruce Grobbelaar, the Liverpool goalkeeper and a former playing colleague of Souness, said: "He is a winner and he is what we need. Everybody here will do the best for the club and for him."

Liverpool's appointment of Souness as their eighth post-war manager was not so much the culmination of a dogged pursuit as a prolonged game of patience. In the hours which followed Dalglish's retirement, the club's directors felt no great need for deliberation or caution, simply because Souness was the unanimous choice within the boardroom.

Dalglish's decision to escape from the immense pressure of maintaining Liverpool's position as Britain's most successful club came as an enormous surprise to the Liverpool board. But the emergence of Souness as a highly-successful manager with a sound business sense almost seemed to solve a problem before it had been diagnosed.



Parting company: Souness, left, and Murray announce the Rangers manager's departure for Liverpool

Chairman feels 'let down'

By RODDY FORSYTH

GRAEME Souness took his leave as manager of Rangers at a highly-charged press conference at Ibrox yesterday, almost exactly five years after he arrived from the Italian club, Sampdoria.

His period in charge brought enormous changes to Rangers — and to the rest of Scottish football — and made him a wealthy man. Souness, who was also a director of Rangers, must relinquish the shares which he bought for £600,000 less than three years ago, and offer them first to David Murray, the chairman. They are now estimated to be worth £3 million.

Rangers named Walter Smith, Souness's assistant, as caretaker manager and promised the announcement of a permanent appointment next week.

There was no acrimony evident between Souness and Murray yesterday, although the angry voices of supporters who had gathered outside Ibrox three stories below were clearly audible in the conference room. And there is no doubt that the chairman feels deeply aggrieved by Liverpool's approach to Souness.

Murray, who had formed a close friendship with Souness in the 30 months of their partnership, said: "I would be a liar if I said that I did not feel

let down and perhaps badly let down."

"Graeme has said that he feels he has gone as far as he could with Rangers, and although I sympathise with him in some of the reasons he has given for doing this, I cannot imagine why he wants to leave Rangers Football Club. As far as I am concerned, perhaps in football terms Liverpool are a big club but overall I don't think they come anywhere near Rangers."

"In the midst of all this, I would like to remind people that if it was not for Graeme Souness, I would not be here. I am deeply disappointed in football terms but I hope that we will still remain friends."

The reasons that Souness offered for wanting to leave — more time with his family (his three children live with his estranged wife, Danielle, near London) and a feeling that he had gone as far as he could with Rangers — conflict with many of his earlier comments.

He once said that Rangers were "bigger than Arsenal or Manchester United, bigger than Everton, bigger than Liverpool".

When his marriage foundered two years ago, he said: "Everybody has to make sacrifices at some stage in their life. I have had to make a very important one in mine but that is the measure of my commitment to this club."

Another suggestion, that he might have tired of his frequent collisions with the Scot-

tish Football Association, was dismissed by Murray.

Souness spent nearly £16 million in buying 37 players and creating teams which won the Scottish League championship three times (they are well-placed to win it again this season) and the Scot Cup four times, although not the Scottish Cup.

Murray confirmed that Phil Brown, Rangers' trainer and a former playing colleague of Souness at Anfield, would be leaving as well.

Richard Gough, the captain of the team, said that the players had been "surprised and disappointed" by the news of Souness's departure.

Smith, who will act as caretaker manager, has asked to be considered for the vacant post, and the coaching abilities which he has displayed at Ibrox and previously at Dundee United have impressed the board. So, too, has his reserved demeanour and Murray said yesterday that he would prefer a manager with a less contentious style than Souness.

However, he also refused to rule out an approach to another manager and the names of Alex Ferguson, the manager of Manchester United, George Graham, of Arsenal, and Kenny Dalglish are sure to be mentioned.

The hype for the contest has been distinguished by the manners, the civility and sincerity that the two men have given to the promotion of their battle. This will be the richest bout — grossing \$100 million — in history, and a hardened group of media were less than close to tears when Bob Arum, the promoter, announced that a record 18 million homes were taking pay-per-view television and that cable lines were still selling with three days to go.

Even the financially beleaguered Mr Trump was there in an attempt to give the proceedings, not to mention himself, added dignity. "Don't believe what you read," he said to the scribes, "even though you're the ones that write it."

The claims put forward for the status of this contest by Arum and Dan Duva, fellow promoter, were so far-fetched that it was difficult to swallow. It was difficult to swallow the elaborate buffet that was on hand. Yet through the glitz came that element of truth that makes this bout something different.

Holyfield was 10 when, in 1973, he saw Joe Frazier laid flat by Foreman, and it was then that he set his heart on filling those shoes one day.

Foreman's new age, page 40

Civility and manners prevail

From DAVID MILLER IN ATLANTIC CITY

GEORGE Foreman was nothing if not realistic at the final press conference before Friday night's undisputed world heavyweight title bout. "I'll be putting that championship belt round my... bicep," the 42-year-old former champion said. He was acknowledging that the belt might not quite make it round his waist.

When the two fighters sized up each other on stage at Donald Trump's allegedly tottering plaza, the old man looked almost twice as wide as the young champion. If Evander Holyfield is going to run rings round Foreman, then he is going to have to run some way.

As is usual with such presentations, we were poised somewhere between Disneyland and a presidential election address. Foreman, who on the surface is taking the climax of his comeback in casual good humour, likened himself to Halley's Comet or an eclipse of the sun, "something that's once in a lifetime," he said. Yes, he agreed, the things they were saying about him are true: fat, old and overweight.

But he talked just long enough, in a new kashmir jacket that looked large enough to have been erected as a small tent, to reconfirm that he was not here for the cash, but the title.

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Foreman's new age, page 40

GRAEME SOUNESS

Born: May 6, 1953, Edinburgh.

Career details: 1970: Signed apprentice form for Tottenham Hotspur. 1972: Joined Middlesbrough in the second division for £27,500, making his League debut in January, 1973. 1975: Signed for Liverpool for £252,000, then a record cash transfer fee between English clubs. 1984: Joined Sampdoria, the Italian League club, for £350,000. 1986: Became player-manager of Rangers after a £300,000 move, making his final appearance as a player last season.

International recognition: 54 appearances for Scotland, including the World Cup finals in Argentina, Spain and Mexico. Debut in October 1974 against East Germany in Glasgow. Capped at school and under-23 level. With Middlesbrough: 178 League appearances, 22 League goals. Honours: 1973-4: Second division champion.

1975-6: Anglo-Scottish Cup winners. With Liverpool: 247 appearances, 36 goals. Honours: 1977-8: European Cup winners. 1978-9: League champions. 1979-80: League champions. 1980-1: European Cup winners. 1981-2: League champions. 1982-3: League Cup winners. 1982-3: League champions. 1983-4: European Cup winners. 1983-4: European Cup winners. 1984-5: League Cup winners. 1984-5: League Cup winners. 1985-6: League Cup winners. 1985-6: League Cup winners. 1986-7: League Cup winners. 1986-7: League Cup winners. 1987-8: League Cup winners. 1987-8: League Cup winners. 1988-9: League Cup winners. 1988-9: League Cup winners. 1989-90: League Cup winners. 1989-90: League Cup winners. 1990-1: League Cup winners. 1990-1: League Cup winners. 1991-2: League Cup winners. 1991-2: League Cup winners. 1992-3: League Cup winners. 1992-3: League Cup winners. 1993-4: League Cup winners. 1993-4: League Cup winners. 1994-5: League Cup winners. 1994-5: League Cup winners. 1995-6: League Cup winners. 1995-6: League Cup winners. 1996-7: League Cup winners. 1996-7: League Cup winners. 1997-8: 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